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JULY, 1930

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1930
PART III.—JULY

The account of the Isma'ili doctrines in the *Jami' al-Tawarikh* of Rashid al-Din Fadlallah

BY REUBEN LEVY

ALTHOUGH references to the subject of Ismā'īlī doctrine have been frequent enough in the text-books and learned journals, the earliest source quoted in nearly all of them is the *Ta'rīkh-i Jahān-Gushā* of Juwaynī. By a comparison of that work [1] with the corresponding section of the *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh* of Rashīd al-Dīn it is evident that the latter is the source from which Juwaynī drew most of his materials, and that for his compilation he used such sections of it as suited his purposes, omitting and transposing passages as he thought fit. In certain instances his omissions from the text have caused obscurities which the original version of Rashīd al-Dīn does not contain, and quite often the borrowings have been incorporated without any great effort to make them fit snugly into their context. Since the *Ta'rīkh-i Jahān-Gushā* is fairly well known I shall confine myself here to the work of Rashīd al-Dīn, which seems destined for some time longer to remain in the obscurity of manuscript.[2]

The section begins with a short introduction bestowing

[1] By the kindness of the Gibb Trustees, I have been able to use proof-sheets of part of the third volume of Mīrzā Muḥammad Qazwīnī's edition.

[2] I have used two British Museum manuscripts, the well-known one Add. 7628 (fols. 272*b* ff.), which I call A, and Or. 1684 (fols. 186*b* ff.), which is late, but occasionally has a better reading than the other. This I call B, while Juwaynī, in Mīrzā Muḥammad's edition (vol. iii), is represented by J.

praise upon Allah and compliments on the author's patron, and containing a statement to the following effect: In accordance with the instructions received from the "King of the World" (Uljaytu Khān), complete histories were compiled of all the peoples of the world and of the various classes of human society in the seven climes—Turks, Chinese, Indians, Jews, Christians, Franks, inhabitants of the West, and Persians. A desire was then expressed by His Majesty for a history of the Sect of the Comrades (*Rafīqān*) and the Society of the Propagandists of the Ismā'īlīs and Heretics (*Malāḥida*), who are a people apart and who for a lengthy period of time were firmly established upon the throne of power and sovereignty and, further, kept the kings of all regions and the rulers of all countries in a state of sleepless fear and uncertainty because of their abundant forces, their constant supply of troops, stores, and equipment, their organization and the terrifying reports about them.

In accordance with his sovereign's desire, therefore, the author compiled a history of this people and included it in the *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh* as a matter for reflection in all minds and a subject to be retained in all memories.

In a further passage, after claiming to be merely a reporter of his materials and stating that responsibility for the truth or falsehood of them lies with his authorities and not with himself, Rashīd al-Dīn explains how the various divisions in Islam arose, and how the 'Alids, robbed of the Caliphate which was rightfully theirs, during the reign of the Umayyads carried on propaganda against them. He states, however, that this proved unsuccessful and that the 'Alids were rigorously persecuted also by the 'Abbāsid Caliphs. Our author then continues:—

[1]در زمان دولت عبّاسیان نگاه کردند میدان از
مردان خالی یافتند و خصم غافل وامور مهمل و همّتها

[1] A, f. 273*a*, towards the end.

متقاصر و عزیمتها واهی و متابعت شهوات و لذات غالب
و امر معروف مقهور و نهی منکر مغلوب در هر گوشهٔ
فرصتی جستند و داعیان خردمند شیرین سخن و رفیقان
نیکوبیان و لطیف گفتار بر دعوت آغالیدند و بجهت
بُعد جهات بچهار جانب بفرستادند، جانب اوّل مشرق،
از بدایت خراسان تا نهایت ترکستان وآنچه بدان متّصل
بود از حدود نیمروز، جانب دوّم جنوب، مبداء آن از
عراق وبابل و کوفه تا أقصیٔ حجاز (A, f. 273b) وبوادی
زمین یمن وآنچه مجاورست، جانب سیم مغرب، از
بدایت دیار بکر ودیار ربیعه وشام تا غایت مغرب، جانب
چهارم شمال، از ساحل دریاء مشرق تا بصره وعمان و
بحرین و سند وهند و نهایت صین وآنچه بدان پیوسته
است، وبهر جهتی وناحیتی داعیانِ خوش لهجه نیکو
بلاغت شیرین فصاحت خردمند بیدار هشیار نصب
کردند وفصول عهود و مواثیقِ مفاوضه تلقین کردند
وفرمود تا در صیانتِ نفس و طهارتِ بدن وپاک دامنی و
خوش خلقی و چرب زبانی ونیکو عشرتی یدِ بیضا و دمِ
مسیحا نمایند وبیان سخنها وتلقین کلام مناسب وموافق

مرغوب تقریر کنند، از دعاة بجانب عراق زید اهوازی
فرستادند وبحرین وبلاد یمن ابو سعید الجنّابی و او بشهر
قطیف اقامت نمود وابو زکریاء اصفهانی را از قبیلهٔ بنی
کلاب در دعوت آورد و بمساعدت و مرافقت ایشان
شهر هجر و لحسا و تمامت بلاد سواحل عمان وبحرین
و بصره بگرفت واو معاصر معتضد خلیفهٔ عبّاسی بود
ودر سنهٔ ست و ثمانین و مأتین داعیان را بزمین عراق
فرستاد، چون معتضد درگذشت کار جنّابی بالا گرفت
و عاقبت در شهور سنهٔ احدی و ثلثمأیه در حمام بقتل آمد
ابو طاهر پسرش قایم مقام او بود وبزمان جعفر صادق ابو
الخطّاب دعوی الٰهیت جعفر کرد صادق در حقّ او
فرمود که مَلْعُونٌ هُوَ وَأَصْحَابُهُ، واز جملهٔ داعیان یکی
میمون قدّاح بود وپسرش عبد الله بن میمون که ایشانرا از
علما و اکابر طایفه شمردند، واز راویان و ناقلان آثار مروی
است که [1] جعفر را چهار پسر بود مهتر اسماعیل که بمادر [2] نحیر

[1] The corresponding portion in J[uwayni] begins here [ed. Mirzā Muhammad, vol. iii, p. 144].

[2] *Sic*. According to Tabarī (iii, 2509) her name was امّ فروة فاطمة بنةا الحسین الاثرم

حسینی بود، دوم موسی که مادرش امّ ولد بود واو بمشهدِ
طوس مدفون است، سیم محمّد دیباج که بظاهر جرجان
مدفون است، چهارم عبد الله معروف [1] بابطح، جعفر
نصّ امامت بر اسماعیل کرد واسماعیل شراب مسکر
بخورد جعفر بر فعل او انکار کرد و فرمود که بَدَا فی أُمرِ
إِسْمَاعِیلَ و بر پسر دیگر موسی نصّ کرد طایفهٔ کهستانیان
خودرا بر اسماعیل بستند واز فرقهٔ شیعه جدا شدند
و حجّت آوردند که جعفر امام معصوم است واو نصّ بر
اسماعیل کرد پس اصل نصِّ نخستین است وبدا بر خدا
روا نباشد وامام خود آنچه کند و فرماید جمله حقّ باشد
اسماعیل را از شراب خوردن در امامت نقصان وخلل
نباشد پس ایشانرا برای انتساب باسماعیل اسماعیلی گفتند [2]
و طایفه را که از ایشان متولّد و متتبع اند باعتبار هفت امام
سبعیّه گویند و باعتبار آنکه بمجرّد نظر واستدلال عقلِ
مردم در معرفت باری تعالی کافی و وافی نبود مگر
بتعلیم معلّم مرشد ایشانرا تعلیمیّة گویند و باعتبار آنکه

[1] J. افطح *prb. recte.*

[2] J. breaks off here and resumes at وزعم on p. 514.

از قرآن هر کلمهٔ را ظـاهـری وباطنی ولـفظی وتأویلی
تصریحی و تعریضی واشارتی ورمزی است که عوامّرا بر
ظاهر لفظ اطّلاع است و خواصّرا بر باطنِ تأویل وقوف
ایشانرا باطنی گویند و هر که در طریق ایشان راسخ شود
واجازهٔ کلام یابد اورا ماذون گویند وچون بدرجهٔ دعوت
رسد اورا داعی خوانند وچون بمرتبهٔ ده دواعی رسـد و
معتبر شود اورا حجّت گویند اعنی گفتار حجّت ایزد ست
بر خلایق وچون رتبت و درجهٔ کمال یافت واز تعلیم بی
نیاز گشت اورا امام خوانند وبالاء امام اساسست وفوق
اساس در منزلت ناطق وامام هفت باشند ودوازده داعی
و مأذون هرامامی را بباید،

[1] وزعم سنّت وجماعت آنست که اسماعیل پیش از
پدر خویش جعفر صادق [2] وفات یافت والیٔ مدینه را که
از قبَلِ خلفاء عبّاسی حاکم آنجـا بود با گروهی انبوه از
مشایخ ومعارفِ مدینه حاضر کرد واسماعیلرا که در چهار
فرسنگی بدیه عُرَیْض وفات کرده بود وبر دوشهاء مردم

[1] J. resumes here.

[2] B inserts به پنج سال درسنهٔ خمس وار بعین ومأیه

بشهر آورده بود بایشان نمود، محضری است بر وفات او
موشّح باشهاد و خطوط جماعتی حاضران واورا به [1] بـقیع
دفن کرد جماعتی که باسماعیل انتساب داشتند گفتند اسماعیل
نمرده بود لیکن از تعمیهٔ مردم بود [2] و بعد از پدر به پنج
سال زنده بود واورا در بازار بصره دیدند که بیماری
زمن معلول ازو سؤال کرد اسماعیل دستِ او بگرفت
بیمار تندرست شد بر خاست وبرفت وبرنابینا دعا کرد
بینا شد [3] و مقصود جعفر صـادق بذات خـود بود از
حواله دعوی امامت که بوی میکردند،

القصّة چون صـادق وفات یافت جمهـور شیعه
متابعت موسی کـردند مگر عددی اندک بامامت محمّد
دیباجی بگفتند و بدیباجه [4] موسوم شدند و همچنین فرقه
بامامت عبد اللّه ابطح بگفتند و بابطحی معروف اند و
خلفاء عبّاسی موسی را از مدینه ببغداد آوردند و محبوس
کردند تا در حبس وفات (A, f. 274*a*) یافت، شیعه گفتند

[1] B بقعه
[2] J. breaks off.
[3] J. resumes.
[4] ? دیباجیّه. There is a lacuna in J.'s text.

مسموم بود اورا بکنار جسر آوردند وبر خلایق بغداد
عرض کردند اعنی که بر اندامهاء وا زخمی نیست واورا
بمقابر [1] هاشمی دفن کردند، و پسرش علی بن موسی الرّضا
[2] بمدینه بود تا آنگـاه که مأمون اورا بخراسـان خواند
وخلافت بوی تفویض کرد بموجب خطّی که امروز در
مشهد [2] طوس است عاقبت بطوس مسموم وفات یافت و
هم آنجا مدفون شد و بعد ازین عبّاسیـان جهت دعوی
امامت بتیغ تفحّص ایشان میکردند اولاد اسماعیل نیز
متواری شـدند واز مـدینه بعضی بر صوب عـراق و
خراسان و قـومی بجـانب مغرب رفتند وچون اسماعیل
وفات یافت پسرش محمّد بن اسماعیل که بزمان جعفر بزرگ
بود واز موسی بسال مهتر بر صوب عراق برفت وبریّ فرو
آمد واز آنجا بدماوند شد بدیه سمله و محمّد آباد در ریّ
منسوب باوست واورا فرزندان بودند متواری بخراسان
و حدود قندهـار از تا حیت سند متوطّن شده داعیـان
ایشان [3] درولایتها افتادند ومردم را بمذهب خود دعوت

[1] The MSS. of J. omit. Mirzā Muḥammad conjectures قریش [p. 148].

[2]—[2] A omits.

[3] J. اسماعیلیان

میکردند[1] بر سبیل[1] مطلوبی تا خلایق بسیار اجابت
دعوت ایشان کردند، واز[2] جانب مغرب علیّ[3] بن
اسماعیل را بخواندند و متوجّه شام شد و چون او طالب
امامت نبود و کس نیز متابعت او نمیکرد آنجا[4] بماند
و هنوز از انساب او آنجا فرزندان هستند، ودر سال
دویست و نود وپنج عبد الله بن میمون قدّاح که بزی صوم
و صلوة و طاعات و عبادات متجلّی بود و بر سرّ آن
دعوت آگاه بعسکر مکرم مقام کرد بموضع ساباط
ابی نوح واموال واتباع او فراوان شد، اعدا قصد او
کردند از آنجا ببصره رفت وبمحلّتِ بنی عقیل فرو آمد
واز آنجا بکوهستان عجم باهواز آمد مردم را دعوت
میکرد و خلفاء خودرا بجانب عراق چون ریّ و اصفهان
و همدان و قم فرستاد،

[1]—[1] J. omits; A reads مظلومی
[2] J. ازان جانب
[3] Thus J. A, B [incorrectly] محمّد
[4] J. ظاهر شد

[TRANSLATION]

Looking about them during the days of the 'Abbāsid domination they [the 'Alids][1] observed that the field was clear and the enemy off his guard; that men's aims were trivial and their ambitions base, the pursuit of lusts and pleasure holding supremacy; so that the call to do the right was suppressed and prohibition of the wrong overwhelmed. Accordingly they watched closely for an opportunity and put to the task of gaining converts propagandists who were smooth spoken men of wisdom and "comrades" of good understanding and eloquence. Now because of the great distances between regions they sent out men in four directions, the first being the East, from the confines of Khurāsān to the furthermost boundary of Turkistan and the adjoining regions of Sīstān. The second direction was South, beginning with 'Irāq, Babel, and Kufa and extending as far as the furthest limits of Ḥijāz and the *wādī* of the Yemen, together with the neighbouring region. The third direction was the West, beginning with Diyār Bakr and Diyār Rabī'a together with Syria, and extending to the furthest limits of the West. The fourth region was the North from the coast of the Eastern Sea[2] as far as Baṣra and including Oman, Baḥrayn, Sind and Hind, and on to China, together with the adjoining regions.

For every region and every district they appointed propagandists, men of pleasant speech, goodly eloquence, and sweet lucidity, as well as of sagacious and alert intelligence. To them the terms of their compacts and the benefits promised for their association were set forth in detail, and they were ordered to rule their lives in spiritual immaculateness, bodily purity, and unblemished conduct; they were, moreover, to be good-natured, pleasant spoken, and hail-fellow with all men; [in short] they were to be worthy of "the white hand of Moses and the breath of Christ". And with every

[1] Square brackets denote the translator's insertions.

[2] The Arctic and North Pacific. *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, trans. Le Strange, p. 231.

man they were bidden to put forward their reasoning and conduct their arguments in fashion suited to his character and desires in life.

Of the propagandists, they sent Zayd the Ahwāzī to 'Irāq, and Abu Sa'id al-Jannābī to Baḥrayn and the Yemen territory. He settled in the town of Qaṭīf [1] and won over to his propaganda Abu Zakariyā Iṣfahānī of the tribe of the Banu Kilāb. By their aid and co-operation he [al-Jannābī] won over the towns of Hajar and Laḥsā and all the coastal territory of Oman, as well as Baḥrayn and Baṣra. He was the contemporary of the 'Abbāsid Caliph Mu'taḍid and in the year 286 [A.D. 899] he sent propagandists to 'Irāq. After Mu'taḍid died al-Jannābī's affairs prospered, but finally at some time during the year 301 he met his death in the baths. His son Abu Ṭāhir succeeded to his office.

In the time of Ja'far Ṣādiq, [one] Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb propounded that Ja'far had claims to godhead. Ṣādiq, however, denounced Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb and his companions.

Amongst the propagandists was Maymūn-i Qaddāḥ ["the Oculist"] whose son was 'Abd Allāh b. Maymūn; both of whom were accounted amongst the learned and the aristocracy of the sect.

It is related by the reporters and traditionists that Ja'far had four sons; the eldest being Ismā'īl, who through his mother was [?] [2] a Ḥusaynī; the second was Mūsā, whose mother was a slave woman—(he is buried at the shrine at Ṭūs); the third was Muḥammad Dībāj, who lies buried outside Jurjān, and the fourth was 'Abd Allāh, known as Abtaḥ. Ja'far allotted the imāmate to Ismā'īl. He, however, was addicted to intoxicating liquor, so that Ja'far, disapproving of his conduct, declared that he had changed

[1] On the Arabian mainland in the neighbourhood of Baḥrayn. See *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, ed. Le Strange, p. 137.

[2] For the text, which is doubtful, Mīrzā Muḥammad suggests نبیرہ حسین "a grandson of Ḥusayn". But this statement lacks point and significance, this Ḥusayn not being a person of any note.

his intention with regard to him and bestowed the imāmate upon Mūsā, the second son. Thereupon the sect of the Kuhistānis attached themselves to Ismā'īl and withdrew from the Shi'a body, arguing that Ja'far, as the divinely preserved imām, had appointed Ismā'īl [to succeed him]. The true appointment [they said] was the first one—seeing that one could not accuse God of changing his intention and that all which the imām himself did and said was right. So far as the imāmate, therefore, was concerned, Ismā'īl's wine-drinking created no disability.

Because of their relations with Ismā'īl they are called Ismā'īlīs, and the sect that was born and originated out of them is called the Seveners by reason of the seven Imāms. With reference also [to their doctrine] that merely by reflection and reasoning the human mind is inadequate for and incapable of attaining a knowledge of God except through the instruction (تعليم) of a guide and instructor—with reference to that, they are called the "Instructionists" (تعليمية). Further, they are called *Bāṭinīs* ["Inwarders"]—with reference to the doctrine that in the Qur'ān every word has an outward and an inward (*bāṭin*) significance, a plain meaning, and an elucidatory interpretation as well as an allusive, suggestive, and cryptic one; the common run of men understanding only the outward meaning while the chosen ones are informed of the inner significance.

When a person becomes firmly established in their beliefs and obtains permission to learn theology he is called *Ma'dhūn* ["licentiate"]: when he reached the degree of propagandism they call him a *Dā'ī* ["a propagandist"]—when he reaches the stage of [heading] ten propagandists and becomes a person of consideration he is called *Ḥujjat* ["proof"]—which means to say "declaring the proof of God to mankind". When he reaches the grade of perfection and is independent of all further instruction he is called *Imām*. Above the *Imām* is the *Asās* [the "fundamental"] and beyond him again

in degree is the *Nāṭiq* [the "speaker"]. There are seven *Imāms*, each of whom has need of twelve propagandists and licentiates.

According to orthodox teaching, Ismā'īl died before his father Ja'far Ṣādiq. He thereupon summoned the Wālī of Medina (who held office as governor there on behalf of the 'Abbāsid Caliphs) and a number of the elders and notables of Medina and showed them [the body of] Ismā'īl which had been carried into the city on men's shoulders from the village of 'Urayḍ, four parasangs distant, where he had died. They provide the evidence for his death and they are supported by eye-witnesses and the documents of a number of persons present. His father buried him at Buqay'.

The statement of the group who attached themselves to Ismā'īl is that he did not die, but that [all this] was in order to mystify mankind. Further, that he was alive five years after his father's death. He was then seen in the Baṣra bazaar, where a man who had been ill of a chronic disease made a request of him. He took the sick man's hand and promptly the invalid recovered, rose from his place, and walked away. Also Ismā'īl prayed over a blind man, whose sight was at once restored. [They say] Ja'far Ṣādiq's object in proclaiming Ismā'īl's death was in reality that he might transfer to another the title to the imāmate that was being conferred upon him.

To cut a long story short, when Ṣādiq died, the main body of the Shī'a followed Mūsā, but a few proclaimed the imāmate of Muḥammad Dībājī and they came to be called the "Dībāja". Similarly, a party declared themselves for the imāmate of 'Abd Allāh Abṭaḥ, and they are known as the Abṭaḥī [sect]. Now the 'Abbāsid Caliphs brought Mūsā from Medina to Baghdad and held him imprisoned until he died. The Shī'a declared he was poisoned, and brought his body to the side of the bridge, where they displayed him to the people of Baghdad in order to prove that there was no wound upon his body. They buried him in the Hāshimī

tombs.[1] His son 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā remained at Medina until Ma'mūn summoned him to Khurāsān, and he appointed him [heir] to the Caliphate—according to a document which is at the shrine at Ṭūs to-day. In the end he died of poison at Ṭūs and was buried there.

Thereafter the 'Abbāsids sought for them[2] with the sword because of this claim to the imāmate. Ismā'īl's sons hid themselves; some went from Medina towards 'Irāq and Khurāsān, while others went to the West. When Ismā'īl died, his son Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl (who was grown up when Ja'far was alive and was older than Mūsā) left for 'Irāq, alighting at Rayy. Thence he went to Demāvand, to the village of [?] Samala. Muḥammad-ābād at Rayy is called after him. He had several sons in concealment. They established themselves in Khurāsān and the frontier region of Qandahār, in Sind territory, whence their propagandists attacked the cities and persuaded men to their cause by the method of [promising each] the object he desired, until a great number had yielded to their persuasions.

From the West also they summoned 'Alī b. Ismā'īl, who set forth for Syria. Seeing that he was making no claim to the imāmate and that he had no following in that regard, he remained in Syria, where descendants of some of his kinsmen still live.

In the year 295 [907–8] 'Abd Allāh b. Maymūn the Oculist, making an outward show of devotion to fasting, prayer, and good works but being in reality initiated into the secrets of that propaganda, settled at 'Askar Mukram[3] in the place called Sābāṭ-i Abi Nūḥ. There his wealth and following increased, but when his enemies made an attempt on his life he departed to Baṣra, where he settled in the quarter of the Banu 'Uqayl. Thence he went to Persian Kūhistān to Ahwāz, where he carried on his propaganda

[1] At Kāḍimayn.
[2] The 'Alids.
[3] In Khūzistān. (*Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, tr. Le Strange, p. 110.)

and whence also he sent representatives to 'Irāq ['Ajamī] to places like Rayy, Isfahān, Hamadān, and Qum.

The next part of the *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh* proceeds then to give a list of missionaries appointed to the various lands of Islam. Khurāsān is singled out for special mention because its ruler, the Sāmānid prince Naṣr b. Aḥmad, and his vizier both helped in the Ismā'īlī cause. When Naṣr died however, his son Nūḥ, who succeeded him on the throne, killed the Ismā'īlī *dā'ī* together with every one of his supporters.

Rashīd al-Dīn continues :—

[1] القصه بطولها اسماعیلیّان را در بلاد اسلام رؤسا
وداعیان پدید آمدند ومقالات خود را شرحی وبسطی
تمام دادند که ذکر هریك بتطویل انجامد لیکن ما جمعی
معروفان اقلیم رابع خصوصا خراسان وعراق وشام ویمن
یاد کردیم وابتداء دعوت این کردند که هر پیغامبری
وصیّ وولی عهدی بود که در حال حیوة او در شهرت علم
او بود وتمامی دور ایشان بهفت منقضی‌شد، پیغامبر
نخستین آدم بود بدین صفات وشرایط که قایم مقام
وولیعهد او پس از وفات او شیث بود و تمامی دور او
بهفت امام منقضی شد وبعد از تتمیم دور او نوح ظاهر
شد ناسخ شریعت آدم ودور او بهفت امام تمام گشت

[1] A, f. 274*a*, *ad fin.*

ووصیّ او سام بود واز پس او ابرهیم پیغامبر پدید آمد
ناسخ شریعت نوح ازو وصیّ اسماعیل بود ودور او
بگذشتن هفت امام تمام شد وبعد ازو موسی پدید آمد
ناسخ شریعت ابرهیم وو صیّ او بعد ازو هرون بود
وچون هرون در حال حیوة موسی از دنیا برفت وصّی
یوشع بن نون بود وچون دور موسی بهفت تمام گشت
از پس او عیسی پدید آمد ناسخ شریعت موسی ووصیّ
او شمعون الصفا بود و هچنین دور عیسی بهفت امام تمام
شد واز پس او محمد رسول پدید آمد و شریعت دیگر
نهاد ناسخ شریعت عیسی ووصیّ او علیّ بن ابی طالب
بود وبعد ازو حسن وبعد ازو حسین واز نسل او امام
چهارم علیّ بن الحسین زین العابدین واز پس او امام
پنجم محمّد باقر واز پس او امام ششم جعفر صادق وبعد ازو
امام هفتم اسماعیل بن جعفر بود و دور محمّدی بدو تمام شد
و هلمّ جرّا تا بدین امام رسد که والیٔ مصر است وزعم
ایشان آنست که درهر عصری امام معصوم است از همه
خلل و خطل تا در همه احوال رجوع باو کنند در

تأویلات ظاهر و حلّ مشکلات وغوامض ازو روشن گردد، و بیض کردن رموز واشارات قرآن وبیان شرایع وارکان ومعرفت احکام وجلیل ودقیق از حقایق احکام ودقایق بواطن اسرار ممکن نیست مگر ازو وقول او که فرق میان او وپیغامبر وحی باشد، [1]وهرگز عالم بی چنان امامی نبوده است وهرکه امام بود پدر او امام بوده باشد وپدر پدر او تا بآدم علیه السلام و ممکن نباشد که امام وفات کند الّا بعد ازانکه پسر او که امام من بعد او خواهد بود ولادت بوده باشد یا از صلب او جدا شده و معنیٔ آیت [2]ذُرِّيَّةً بَعْضُهَا مِنْ بَعْضٍ و فحویٔ آیت [3]وجَعَلَهَا كَلِمَةً بَاقِيَةً فِي عَقِبِهِ اینست، و چون بر ایشان حجّت آوردند بحسن بن علیّ که باتّفاق همهٔ شیعه امام بود وفرزند او امام نبود گفتند امامت او مستودع بود یعنی غیر ثابت [4]وآن عاریت است وامامت حسین مستقرّ وآیت[5] فَمُسْتَقَرٌّ ومُسْتَوْدَعٌ اشارت بآن است،

[1] J. resumes here [p. 149].
[2] Qur'ān, iii, 30.
[3] Qur'ān, xliii, 27.
[4] J. وامامت عاریت داشت
[5] Qur'ān, vi, 98.

وگویند ناطق کسی است که واضع شرع باشد و شرع
متقدّمان منسوخ کند واساس نو کند آنکه علم تأویل
شریعت پیش او باشد واسرار باطن از همه خلایق او
داند وناطقْ ظاهرِ شریعت واساسِ بواطنِ آنرا بیان کند،
کار ناطق وضعِ تنزیل است وکار بیان تأویل شریعت
پیش او باشد، وامام منصوص بعد از محمّد مصطفی علیّ
بود با امامت هفتگانه وهمچنین گویند امام لازم نیست
که ظاهر باشد یکچند مستور بود مانند شب وروز
متعاقب ومتوالی یکدیگرند وهمواره یکی ظاهر ویکی
مخفی ودر دوری که امام ظاهر نباشد باید که داعیانِ او در
میان مردم باشند تا خلقرا بر خدای تعالی حجّت نباشد،
وپیغامبران اصحاب تنزیل اند واهامان اصحاب تأویل ودر
هیچ عهد پیغامبری از امامی خالی نبوده، [1]معاصر ابرهیم
شخصی بود که نام او در توریت مذکور است بلغت
سریانی وعبری [2] که آن بلغت عربی ملك الصدیق وملك

[1] J. reads وبعد از which makes nonsense of what follows.

[2] There is a gap in A and B. The editor of J. (p. 150) reads here ملخیزداق ملخ شلیم although following the Hebrew or Aramaic. The closest approximation in any of the MSS. of J. is ملخبردووصلح سولیم.

[1]السّلام بود وگویند چون ابرهیم باو رسید عُشْرِ
چهارپایان خود باو داد و خضرکه [2]موسی علم لدنی[3] ازو
خواست آموخت امام بود[4] یا[4] نامزد امام، وپیش از
دور اسلام دور ستر بود امامان پوشیده بودند وبروزگار
علیّ که امام آن دور بود امامت ظاهر شد وازعهد او تا
اسماعیل و محمّد پسرش که هفتم بود ظاهر بودند، وابتداء
ستر از اسماعیل بود واز محمّد که آخر دور ظهور بود
تمامت مستور شدند وبعد ازو امامان مستور باشند تا
وقتی که باز زمان ظهور باشد، وگویند موسی بن جعفر
مفادی النفس از اسماعیل وعلیّ بن موسی الرّضا مفادی
النفس بود از محمّد بن اسماعیل وقصّهٔ ذبح که وَفَدَيْنَاهُ
بِذِبْحٍ عَظِيمٍ[5] اشارت بمثل این صورت بود،

فی الجملة آن مذهب ومقالت در اکثر (A, 275a) بلاد
شرق وغرب اسلام فاش گشت بعضی پوشیده وبعضی

[1] A, B الاسلام. J. as in text.

[2] J. موسی را.

[3] J. omits.

[4] A, B, and J. omit یا and read نامرد [*sic*]. The reading in the text is conjectural. A possible reading for نامرد امام might be با مردمان.

[5] Qur. xxxvii, 107.

آشکارا پدید آمدند وهمه بر آن متّفق که روزگار از
امامی خالی نباشدکه خدایرا بوی توان شناخت وبی معرفت
او خدای شناس وعارف نتوان بود وپیغامبران در هر
روزگار باو اشارت کرده اند ، وشرع را ظاهری وباطنی
هست اصل باطن است[1] مانند جواهر معدنی است که در
باطن سنگ تیره تعبیه ولؤلؤ در اصداف در قعربحر
وروح آدمی که در جسم تیره پنهانست ودرین معنی احتجاج
کردند بقوله تعالی بَابٌ بَاطِنُهُ فِيهِ ٱلرَّحْمَةُ وَ ظَاهِرُهُ
مِنْ قِبَلِهِ ٱلعَذَابُ[2] و قوله تعالی وَلَيْسَ ٱلْبِرُّ بِأَنْ تَأْتُوا
ٱلْبُيُوتَ مِنْ ظُهُورِهَا ولَـٰكِنَّ ٱلْبِرَّ مَنِ ٱتَّقَى وَأْتُوا
ٱلْبُيُوتَ مِنْ أَبْوَابِهَا[3] یعنی نیکو کاری نه آنست که
بظاهر مشغول شوید چنانکه عوام شده اند بلکه
بپرهیزید که خرسندی بظاهر نمودن در دین سبب
معالت باشد .

[TRANSLATION]

To state the matter shortly; men of high rank and propagandists in the Ismā'īlī cause appeared in all the lands of Islam and propounded and explained their doctrines everywhere. To have mentioned them all would have

[1] J. breaks off here.
[2] Qur'ān, lvii, 13.
[3] Ibid., ii, 185.

occupied too long, we have noted only a few of the noted ones in the fourth clime, particularly in Khurāsān, 'Irāq, Syria, and Yemen.

The first part of their teaching was this, that every prophet has an executor and heir who, during his [the prophet's] lifetime, is the gateway through which his teachings become generally known. The epoch of the prophets was completed after seven [of them]. The first was Adam, and he was endowed with the necessary qualities and attributes; his representative and heir, who took his place after his death, being Seth. His [Adam's] epoch was completed by seven imāms. After that Noah appeared, to abrogate the dispensation of Adam. His epoch was completed by seven imāms; his executor being Sām. Ibrahīm the prophet came after Noah as abrogator of his dispensation, and his executor was Ismā'īl. And when seven imāms had gone, his epoch was complete. Then came Moses as abrogator of Ibrahīm's dispensation, and his executor was Hārūn; but since Hārūn departed from the world while Moses was still alive, Joshua, son of Nūn, became his executor. When the epoch of Moses had been completed by seven imāms, 'Īsā appeared; and his executor was Simon Cephas. The epoch of 'Īsā, too, was completed by seven imāms and after him came Muḥammad the apostle and established a new dispensation, abrogating that of 'Īsā. His executor was 'Alī b. Abi Ṭālib, after whom came Ḥasan, then Ḥusayn, of whose stock also was the fourth imām 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, Zayn al-'Abidīn, then the fifth imām Muḥammad Bāqir, followed by the sixth, Ja'far Ṣādiq, and then the seventh, Ismā'īl b. Ja'far. The Muḥammadī epoch ends with him. So the series has continued up to the present imām, who is the wālī of Egypt.[1]

Further, according to their doctrine, in every age there is an imām divinely guarded from every flaw and weakness, to whom in every circumstance men have recourse for the interpretation of outward symbols and the solving of problems.

[1] The implication is that Ismā'īl is still alive.

And every profundity is elucidated by him. Moreover, the elucidation of cryptic passages and references in the Qur'ān, the explanation of laws and principles, the knowledge of commandments, as well as of the general and the detailed in the true meanings of the commandments, and of the subtleties of the inner significance of mysterious passages, is impossible to all except through him and his "word"; the difference between him and a prophet lying in the matter of inspiration. The world, they say, has never been without an imām of the kind, and if any man has been an imām, his father also has been an imām and his father's father back to Adam. It would be impossible moreover for any imām to die until after the son who was to be the imām after him was either born or had left his loins. This is the reference in the passage: "The one being posterity of the other,"[1] and the significance of the passage: "and he made it a word that should abide amongst his posterity."[2] When there was brought up in argument against them the example of Ḥasan b. 'Alī, who by agreement of all the Shī'a was an imām while his son was not, they replied that his imāmate was held on trust by him. That is to say it was something impermanent, something accidental, whereas the imāmate of Ḥusayn was definitely established. The verse "and deposited and definitely established"[3] refers to it.

Of the *nāṭiq* ["the Speaker"] they say that he is a person who establishes law, abrogating the law of them that have gone before and laying down new principles. He is, moreover, a person with the knowledge to interpret laws with an understanding of the hidden and esoteric in all created things, and able also to elucidate the outward and obvious meaning of laws as well as the principle that is hidden in them.

(The appointed imām after Muḥammad the Chosen was 'Alī, with the seven-fold imāmate.)

Another of their doctrines is that the imām need not be

[1] Qur'ān, iii, 30.
[2] Ibid., xliii, 27.
[3] Ibid., vi, 98.

apparent and that sometimes one may be obscured, in the same way that night and day succeed and follow one another so that regularly one is apparent and the other hidden. During the period when the imām is not apparent his propagandists must be abroad amongst men so that the fact [of there being no imām apparent] may not be used as an argument against the existence of God.

The prophets are the recipients of divine inspiration, while the imāms are the masters of interpretation, and in no age has a prophet been without an imām.

A contemporary of Ibrāhīm's was a certain person whose name is mentioned in the Torah, in the Syriac and Hebrew speech [Melchizedek] which in the Arabic is "Malik al-Ṣadīq" and "Malik al-Salām". They state that when Ibrahīm came to him he gave him [Ibrahīm] a tenth part of his cattle.

Khiḍr, from whom Moses wished to learn theology, was an imām, or nominated [1] as an imām.

There was an epoch of obscuration before Islam, when the imāms were hidden; and in the time of 'Alī, who is the imām of that epoch [i.e. of Islam], the imāmate became manifest again. From his time until Ismā'īl [2] or his son Muḥammad, who was the seventh, all the imāms have been manifest. There was a beginning of obscuration after Ismā'īl; and after Muḥammad who was the last [imām] of the period of manifestation, all have been obscured, and all the imāms after him will be obscured until the time for manifestation comes again.

Another teaching of theirs is that Mūsā b. Ja'far gave his life in ransom for Ismā'īl and 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḍa did the like in favour of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl; also that the story of the "sacrifice" in the verse "we redeemed him by a mighty sacrifice" [3] has reference to some matter of this kind.

[1] See note on text.

[2] There would seem to be some confusion in the text. It is doubtful whether it was Ismā'īl or his son Muḥammad who was seventh imām.

[3] Qur. xxxvii, 107.

To be brief, these beliefs and doctrines were spread abroad in all the lands of Islam, east and west, and they were disseminated sometimes covertly, sometimes openly. All are agreed on the point that no age can be without its imām, through whom God may be known and without whose knowledge there can be neither theosophist nor gnostic. At every period also the prophets have made reference to him. Further, law has a patent and esoteric significance, the root significance being the esoteric one. The parallel is that of jewels in a mine which lie hidden within dark stone; or that of pearls in oysters in the depths of the sea; or that of the mortal spirit that is concealed within the dark body. On this matter they applied as an argument the divine words: "A door hidden behind which lies mercy, and outside of which is torment"[1]; and "Righteousness is not in entering your houses from the back of them,[2] but it is the righteousness of him who fears: therefore enter your homes by their doors."[3] This means, piety lies not in occupying yourselves with outward forms, as the many do, but in self-restraint; for to approve of the outward side of religion is the cause of evil.

The doctrines spread by the original Ismā'īlī propaganda were the basis upon which the New Propaganda (دعوت جدید) of Hasan-i Ṣabbāḥ [*Sayyidnā*] was formed. Of it Rashīd al-Dīn gives the following account, derived by him from reports made by adherents:—

(A, 291*b*) متقدّمان اساسِ مذهب خود بر تنزیل
وتأویل خصوصا آیات متشابهه و مستخرجات غریب از
معانی اخبار و آثار نهاده بودند و امثال این میگفتند هر

[1] Qur. lvii, 13.

[2] Presumably the point of this verse as a proof text lies in taking ظهور as a verbal noun (i.e. in "their external appearing").

[3] Qur. ii, 185.

آینه هر تنزیلی را تأویلی باشد و هر ظاهری را باطنی
سیّدنا بکلّی درتعلیم در بست و گفت خدای شناسی بعقل
و نظر نیست بتعلیم امام است چه بیشتر اهل علم عقلا
اند و هر کسی را در راه دین نظر است اگر در معرفت
حقّ نظر عقل کافی بودی اهل هیچ مذهبی را بر خصم
خود انکار واعتراض نرسیدی و همکنان متساوی بودندی
چه همه کس بنظرعقل متزیّن است پس چون سبیل انکار
و اعتراض را مفتوح است بعضی را بیفکند و بعضی را
باختیار خود [1] مذهب تعلیم است که عقل مجرّد کافی نیست
ودر هر دور امامی باید که مردم بتعلیم او متعلّم و متدیّن
باشند و چند کلمهٔ مزخرف ملواح را الزام خلق ساخت
و دقیقترین آن الفاظ اورا معنی یکی آنست که از
معترضات مذهب خویش تردید کرده است که درمعرفت
خدای خرد بس است یا نه بس اعنی اگر خرد کافی
است هرکه خردی دارد معترض را برو انکار نمی رسد
و اگر معترض میگوید خرد و نظر عقل کافی نیست هر

[1] There would appear to be a word missing here. ? گذارد

آینه معلّمی احتیاج باشد وآنچ گفت خرد بس است یا
نه بس مذهب او مطلوبش اثباتست وتحقیق این سخن
آنست که تعلیم با خرد بهم واجب است و مذهب خصم
آنست که تعلیم با خرد بهم واجب نیست وچون واجب
نباشد شاید که تعلیم جایز باشد و خرد معیّن باشد بر نظر
و شاید که جایز نباشدو خرد تنها باید والّا خدای شناسی
حامل نباشد واین دو قسم است واو بابطال قسم دوم
تعرّض نرسانید، ومذهب جمهور واهل علم اینست که
وجود خرد مجرّد کافی نیست استعمال خرد بر وجه
مخصوص شرط است و تعلیم و هدایت معیّن یعنی عقلارا
و بعضی را بآن حاجت نه هر چند اگر باشد مانع نبود و
همچنین گفته که پیغامبر فرمود أُمِرْتُ أَنْ أُقَاتِلَ
اَلنَّاسَ حَتَّى يَقُولُوا لَا إِلٰهَ إِلَّا اللّٰهُ یعنی لا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللّٰه فرا
می باید گرفت، واین تعلیم است، فی الجمله سیّدنا باین
قیاسات ضعیف و براهین واهی مردم را دعوت میکرد،

[TRANSLATION]

The early votaries laid the foundations of their beliefs upon revelation and interpretation, in particular of the equivocal verses, and upon strange deductions from the ideas

dealt with in traditions and historical reports. Further they made such statements as these, that every revelation had its interpretation and that every plain meaning was accompanied by an esoteric one. "Sayyidna" [Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ] attached himself entirely to the doctrine of *ta'līm* ["instruction"], and said, "knowledge of God is derived not from reason and reflection but from the *ta'līm* of the imām; for most men of science are reasoning persons and any man may have his views upon the path of religion. If reason and reflection were sufficient to give a knowledge of God, the votaries of no religion could refute or criticize their opponents, and all would be alike; seeing that all are equipped with reasoning powers. Since, then, the way lies open to refutation and criticism, one may overthrow some persons but [leave] others to follow their own discretion. The doctrine of *ta'līm* is that reason alone is insufficient, and that in every age an imām is necessary by whose *ta'līm* men may be instructed and made religious."

Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ also invented some glittering arguments to delude and impress people. Amongst the subtlest of his inventions is one which he employed to rebut criticisms of his own beliefs. He would say, "For a knowledge of God science is either enough or it is not enough; which means that if science is enough then no critic can refute the men of science, and if the critic should say that science and reason are not enough, certainly then there is need of an 'instructor'". As for [Sayyidnā's] proposition that science is either enough or it is not enough (as is his belief), its purpose is to support his own view. What he regards as the truth is that *ta'līm* is essential over and above science, while the belief of his opponent is that *ta'līm* is inessential with science. If the latter be right, *ta'līm* is either permissive—science in that case being determined by reflection—or is not even permissive, and science alone is necessary. If it were not so, knowledge of God would not be possible at all.

(There are, therefore, these two divisions of thought and

Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ did not succeed in refuting the second of the two by his argument.)[1]

The belief of the generality of mankind and of men of science is that the presence of science alone is insufficient. The employment of science in a particular aspect is something conditional; *ta'līm* and [divine] guidance, however, are definite. This applies to men who employ reasoning; but there are some persons who may have no need of it,[2] although if it be present it is certainly not a hindrance.

It is in line with this [form of argument] when Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ says of the prophet that he declared, "I was commanded to make onslaught on men until they say, 'There is no God but Allāh'"; which means that all men must utter the formula, "There is no God but Allāh."

Such is *ta'līm*. To sum up, it was with such feeble logic and worthless arguments that Sayyidnā tried to win men over.

[1] This is Rashīd al-Dīn's interjected comment.
[2] ? science. ? *ta'līm*.

Some Problems in the Nasalization of Marathi[1]

By V. N. SARDESAI

ABBREVIATIONS

M.	Marāṭhī.
H.	Hindī.
S.	Sindhī.
Sgh.	Singhalese.
G.	Gujarātī.
B.	Bengālī.
Sk.	Sanskrit.
Pk. or Pkt.	Prākrit.
J. As.	Journal Asiatique.
A. Mg.	Ardha-Māgadhī.

Beames.—A comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India. London, 1872.

Bloch.—When referred to without special qualification refers to *La formation de la langue marathe*, Paris, 1920. His article, " La nasalité en Indo-aryen," is to be found on p. 61 ff. of the *Cinquantenaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études.*

S. K. Chatterji.—*Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Calcutta, 1926.

Pischel.—*Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen.*

Joshi.—*Pr. Vy.* = *Praudhabodha Vyākaraṇa*, 7th Edition, Poona, 1925.

Rajawade.—*Jñ. Vy.* = *Śrī Jñāneśvarītīla Marāṭhī Bhāṣecē Vyākaraṇa*, Dhule, Śake, 1831.

Older or orthographic forms of M. are given in brackets.

THE nasalization of Indo-Āryan vowels results, generally speaking, from an original nasal consonant of Sanskrit. Thus H. *nāũ*, S. *nā̃ũ*, M. *nāv* (*nā̃va*) " name " all go back to Sk. *nā́man-* (see Bloch, § 67, and Beames, vol. i, § 65). Indo-Āryan nasalization arises not only out of Sk. intervocalic nasals but also from consonant groups of Sk. of which the initial was a nasal. Thus H. G. B. *dā̃t*, M. *dāt* (*dā̃ta*) " tooth " come from Sk. *dánta-*. See Bloch, § 82, and Beames, vol. i, § 72.

[1] " Thesis approved for the Degree of Master of Arts in the University of London." It is now offered for publication with a view to invite comment, criticism or support especially from similar linguistic fields in India. I wish here to express my heavy debt of gratitude to my teacher, Professor R. L. Turner, under whose kind and sympathetic guidance I had the good fortune of studying for three years in the School of Oriental Studies, London.

Bloch in J. As. 1912, i, p. 332 ff. points out an important dialectical differentiation in the development of the Sk. group nasal + plosive and shows how M. and G. differ from the North-Western group in not voicing the plosive following the nasal. Indo-Āryan nasalization also results from the final *-m* of Sk. e.g. neuter nouns of M. with the final anusvāra like *motī* (*motī̃*) "pearl" from Sk. *mauktikam*; M. *gurū* (*gurū̃*) "cow, buffalo" from Sk. *gorupám*—similarly M. *pākhrū* (*pākharū̃*) "bird", *vāghrū* (*vāgharū̃*) "a tiger-like animal", etc. For this and generally for the nasalization of final long vowels of M. resulting from the contraction of two vowels, the second of which was followed by a nasal in Sk. see Bloch, § 66.

Nasalized vowels were not entirely unknown even in the earliest period of Sk. Both the anusvāra and the anunāsika are to be found in Vedic literature. The anusvāra occurs normally before consonants and is represented by a dot written above the line. The anunāsika occurs before vowels and is usually written with the sign ँ, called the *candrabindu-*, either above or immediately after the nasalized vowel. The exact nature of the anusvāra and the anunāsika is not quite clear. See Whitney, Sk. Gr., § 70–3. It is certainly a nasal sound and is distinct from the five class nasals. When final the anusvāra usually stands for *-m*, sometimes for *-n*. Its proper place, however, is before sibilants and *h* in the body of the word, e.g. *māṁsá-* "flesh"; *siṁhá-* "lion". See Macdonell, Vedic Gr., § 60, and Vedic Gr. St., § 10 f. Before plosives the nasal always had the form of a nasal consonant made in the same position as the following plosive, i.e. a corresponding class nasal, viz. *m* before labials, *n* before dentals, etc. For this reason the anusvāra or pure nasal could not occur before plosives.

"Anusvāra could not occur before stops and aspirates which had only corresponding nasals . . . before them in O.I.A.; anusvāra occurred before *y, r, l, v, ś, ṣ, s, h* only." S. K. Chatterji, *Bengali Language*, vol. i, p. 358.

In Sk. itself the final *-m* was weak and did not possess its full articulation. From a very early period it was assimilated to the following consonant. Manuscripts and printed texts represent this assimilated *-m* by the anusvāra. But the reality and early occurrence of this assimilation is well brought out by the wrong analysis of the Pada Text in RV. iv, 11, 6 of *yán ni-pási* as *yát* instead of *yám* and other similar cases. See Macdonell, Vedic Gr., § 75.

Anusvāra and anunāsika were common enough in the final position; but medially they regularly occurred only under certain conditions, viz. before sibilants and *h*. Nasalization of vowels, therefore, was comparatively rare in early Sk. With the gradual development of the language, however, nasalization of vowels due to the influence of neighbouring nasal consonants became more and more common. It is quite a regular and important feature of Middle Indian. In Pāli and in Prākrit all final-nasals have become anusvāras, i.e. they merely serve to nasalize the preceding vowel. This weakening of the final nasal was in conformity with the general development of Middle Indian. Thus, as Bloch points out in his article " La nasalité en indo-aryen ": " La nasal final perd son articulation buccale comme les autres consonnes; mais la nasalité subsiste: p. *aggiṃ* de skr. *agnim*, *balavaṃ* de skr. *balavān*, etc." The final nasal being thus transformed into mere nasalization of the preceding vowel it could no longer be assimilated to the following consonant. It remained as a mere anusvāra. Thus nasalizations became more frequent in Middle Indian. Probably at first nasalized vowels became more common only in groups of words, but later nasalizations became apparent in the body of the word. Thus when an original consonant group of Sk., beginning with a nasal was simplified it gave rise to a nasalized vowel. In the body of the word before a plosive Sk. could only have a class nasal, e.g. *kamp-* not a nasalized vowel **kāp-*. But in some dialects of early Modern Indian Sk. *kamp-* becomes *kā̃p-* and thus has a nasalized vowel preceding a

plosive, which was not possible in Sk. In the body of the word, therefore, the group nasalized vowel plus plosive is a new group and is not to be found in Sk. The creation of this group depended upon the assimilation of the Sk. nasal to the preceding vowel. This assimilation and compensatory lengthening is one of the features of Modern Indo-Āryan. Thus from Sk. *kamp-* we get in H. G. B. forms with *kā̃p-*, M. *kā̃pṇe* (*kā̃paṇẽ*) "to tremble".

The group nasalized vowel plus consonant has undergone a further change, at least in M. and probably research would show a similar tendency in some of the other Modern Indo-Āryan languages, as certainly in Sgh.[1] In M. a general tendency to denasalize vowels has become apparent with only a few significant exceptions. Older *ā̃t* (< *ant*) has become *āt-* e.g. Sk. *tántu-* > M. *tā̃ta* > *tāt* "thread"; Sk. *dánta-* > M. *dā̃ta* > *dāt* "tooth", etc. But in front of voiced plosives the nasalized vowel had again developed a nasal consonant—or just possibly had always to some extent maintained it—before this process of denasalization set in. Therefore we find older *ā̃d* (< *and*) became **ā^{n}d* > modern M. *ānd*: e.g. Sk. *bandh-* > M. *bā̃dhato* (or *ba^{n}dhato*) > Modern M. *bāndhto* "he binds"; Sk. *kanda-* > M. *kā̃dā* > Modern M. *kāndā* "bulb, root", etc.

Nevertheless in both cases *ā̃t* (pronounced *āt*) and *ā̃d* (pronounced *ānd*) the anusvāra continues to be written. It therefore no longer denotes nasalization of the vowel (except in one special case, viz. the oblique plural, for which see below, p. 545), but only a full nasal consonant between the vowel and the plosive. The oblique plural forms a special case because there the anusvāra has a specific semantic value and is therefore retained in spite of general denasalization. Wherever the anusvāra has retained its value it always stands for the nasal corresponding to the following consonant and therefore when in the oblique plural it precedes a sibilant or *h* at the beginning of a termination or a postposition it has

[1] See W. Geiger, *Literatur und Sprache der Singhalesen*, § 17.

its proper value—the value which it had in Sk. under similar circumstances.

Although in the case of words of the type *ăt* (*ăt* $<$ Sk. *ant*) the nasalization has been lost and the anusvāra, though still written, has no value, in some words containing a short vowel followed by an unvoiced plosive the anusvāra is pronounced as a full nasal consonant, e.g. *bhint* (भिंत), *pimpal* (पिंपळ), etc. This pronunciation, which is probably of learned origin, is discussed below, p. 552.

The interpretation of the M. anusvāra has always presented some difficulty on account of these different values. Navalkar (M. Gr., § 37) distinguished four different values of the M. anusvāra and in this he has been followed by a large number of writers on M. grammar, both native and European, like Bhide, Devadhar, H. Wilberforce-Bell, Darby, etc.[1]

The two pronunciations described by Navalkar as *provincial*, e.g. *sanvrakṣhṇa* of संरक्षण, and *classical*, e.g. *saỹyoga* of संयोग, do not, however, require much attention. They occur only in tatsama words or in learned borrowings from Sk. The confusion of the M. anusvāra, therefore, really depends upon its other two values, which only are to be found in the regular tadbhava words of M. These two pronunciations are called *organic* and *nāsikya* by Navalkar: organic, when the anusvāra is to be pronounced as a nasal consonant corresponding in position to the following plosive; *nāsikya*, when it merely nasalizes the vowel over which its sign, viz. the dot, is written. These two values are quite distinct and are not freely interchangeable. Thus आंकडा "number" and आंबा "mango" must be pronounced as *ăkaḍā* ($>$ Modern M. *ākḍā*) and *ãmbā* (probably through older *ămbā* $<$ *ăbā* $<$ Sk. *āmrá*-) with the nāsikya and organic pronunciation respectively and not vice versa.

[1] G. H. Bhide, *Marathi English Primer*, Part i, Bombay, 1912, pp. 5–6. B. V. Devadhar, *Resumé of Marathi Grammar*, Poona, 1926, p. 4. H. Wilberforce-Bell, *A Grammatical Treatise of the Marathi Language*, pp. 8–9. Darby, *A Primer of the Marathi Language*, § 21, pp. 17–18. See also *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. viii, p. 22.

The organic pronunciation of the anusvāra is practically the same in M. as in Sk. M. words, therefore, with an organic anusvāra could either be directly borrowed, from Sk., or could be descended from Sk., i.e. they may be tatsama or they may be tadbhava. But inasmuch as Sk. had no nāsikya anusvāras in the body of a word, all M. words containing this sound and being of Sanskritic origin must be genuine tadbhavas. Cf. Navalkar, M. Gr., § 38: 3. (*a*), "In all pure Maráṭhí words, the Anusvára assumes the násikya sound." See also Joshi, *Pr. Vy.*, Ch. 1 (15).

It is this nāsikya anusvāra which as indicated above (p. 540) has been lost in M. at a subsequent period. Probably it was first lost on the Deśa or in what is called the Deśasthī Bhāṣā or dialect spoken by the Deśastha Brahmins. But it is extremely difficult to date the loss. In the first place owing to the enormous importance of Sk. M. grammar was completely neglected up to the beginning of the last century. Further the incentive to imitate Sanskritic forms in preference to tadbhava words must have exercised a strong influence and tempted those who wished to display their knowledge of Sk. to substitute the organic value of the anusvāra for the nāsikya value proper to the tadbhava form. For the organic was the only anusvāra in their Sk. vocabulary and they looked down upon the nāsikya anusvāra which was only *prākṛta* and, not being found in Sk., unfit to be used by a "learned" Sanskritist. To add to this, the early grammarians of M. were strongly influenced by the Koknasthī dialect in which nasalization was particularly conspicuous.[1]

For a very long time two distinct dialects of M. have been recognized. The Deśasthī and the Koknasthī Bhāsā, the former leaning towards denasalization, the latter towards nasalization. Thus on the Deśa invented stories are current about the excessive nasalization of the Koknasthas, e.g. for तुपांत बुचकळून खा "eat it after dipping it in ghee",

[1] For this and generally on unpronounced nasals in M., see G. P. Pavashe, *Marāthī Lekhanātila Ajāgalānce Uccāṭana*.

a Koknastha is said to say, *tumpā̃nt bunčk̥lū̃n khā̃*. A Deśastha, on the other hand, tends to drop out even legitimate—nāsikya only—nasalization. Thus for orthographic *tupā̃ta* he would say *tupāt*. Similarly a Deśastha would say *kokaṇ* where the Koknastha says *kō̃kaṇ*.

The Peshavas, who played such a leading part in Maratha history, were themselves Koknasthas who migrated to Poona from their home in the Kokaṇa.[1] Poona properly belongs to the Deśa and therefore geographically falls under the denasalizing area. But here the Koknasthī dialect of the Peshavas must have exercised a strong influence. The Court and official language must have possessed a large number of nasalizations which were so prominent in the Koknasthī dialect spoken by the Peshavas and a number of other important persons coming from the Kokaṇa.

This influence of the nasalizing Koknasthī dialect may probably have been helped by the conservatism of the M. orthography. Though nasalizations may be lost in pronunciation they do not at once cease to be written. Orthography is everywhere conservative and reluctant to recognize a recent phonetic change. To-day denasalization has repeated itself or rather has invaded the learned pronunciation in Poona and the change is about to be recognized. The existence of unpronounced anusvāras in M. was recognized by a Conference which met nearly thirty years ago. But its recommendations for the abolition of these superfluous anusvāras were not carried out.[2] And even now, when Mr. N. C. Kelkar introduced a new method, viz. the dropping out of the unpronounced (*anuccārita*) anusvāras, in his *Ṭiḷaka-caritra*, vols. ii and iii, published last year, his action was described by conservative adverse criticism as " revolutionary ". See K. P. Kulkarni,

[1] See Kincaid and Parasnis, *A History of the Maratha People*, vol. ii, p. 145, and vol. iii, last chapter, which is entitled " The End of the Chitpavana Epic ". Citpāvan is a term applied to the Koknastha brahmins.

[2] See *Marathi Śālāpatraka* for October, 1904, and G. P. Pavashe referred to above, p. 542.

"Marāṭhīcē Śuddhalekhana," in *Lokasikṣana*, vol. i, no. 6, June, 1928.

As Mr. Pavashe points out, in his article mentioned above, the predominance of the Kokṇasthī dialect continued in the last century even after the Peshavas lost their power and the British came in. It was quite natural for the then Government to accept the pronunciation of the leading community, viz. the Kokṇasthas as representative of standard M. Not only had the Kokṇasthas played a leading part in the pre-British period but even during the last century they continued to be prominent in politics, social reform and literature. The importance of the Kokṇasthī dialect, with its official recognition by the Government, thus further helped the retention of the anusvāra in writing. From Dadoba Pandurang, whose epoch-making M. grammar appeared in 1824, onwards M. grammarians were strongly influenced by the Kokṇasthī dialect. Hence we find laid down in all M. grammars rules for the writing of the anusvāra whether pronounced or not. This gave rise to a difference between the M. as spoken at home and as learnt at school. Grammatical textbooks disregarded the actual pronunciation and blindly followed the tradition of the orthographic anusvāra. From this divergence between the actual and the grammatical pronunciation arises the anusvāra which is merely perceived by the mind and not actually heard by the ear. (Cf. *kevaḷ manās, kānās navhe, vāṭnārā anunāsik svar*, G. K. Modak in the *Vividhajñāna-vistāra* for October, 1925, vol. lvi, no. 10. See also the classification of anusvāras that are pronounced and those that are not pronounced in *Devadhar, Resumé* of M. Gr., pp. 4–5.) The existence of the anusvāra is felt in such cases presumably because it is associated with a grammatical or orthographic nasal in the form of the anusvāra.

In spite of the conditions favouring the retention of the anusvāra, the denasalizing tendency of the Deśa has, as suggested above, become apparent in the standard pronunciation of Poona and Mr. Kelkar's books are only attempts at

post facto recognition of this change. As an individual, though important, attempt at spelling reform it has met with opposition. But though the adoption of the new method is a controversial matter it is recognized practically on all sides that there are "some" unpronounced anusvāras in Modern Marāṭhī. See N. C. Kelkar, "Ṭiḷakcaritrātīl Śuddhalekhan," in *Maharastra*, Nagpur, 18th March, 1928.

Though learned recognition was accorded to denasalization in Mr. Kelkar's books published only last year, this would not entitle us to assume that the change is very recent. The recommendations of the Conference referred to above (p. 543) put it at least thirty years back. But that is not all. Unpronounced nasals were apparently known at a much earlier date, but they were suppressed as being corrupt by M. grammarians who refused to recognize them. Already Navalkar, who wrote his grammar more than fifty years ago (2nd edition 1880), notes that the nāsikya anusvāra was generally omitted in the Dakhan, § 37: "The Násikya is usually omitted in the Dakhan, and when it is considered necessary to pronounce it distinctly, chiefly in honorific forms, it is changed, even by the higher classes, to the dental न; त्यांला *tyẵlá* to them, erroneously त्यानला *tyá-n-lá*." The instance given here by Navalkar is important because it shows how when an anusvāra is kept, as in the present instance, on account of its semantic value, it is given the value of a full nasal consonant—organic if possible or *n* which is the commonest nasal, as in *tyā-n-lā* which to-day has three optional forms, viz. (1) correctly *tyā̃lā*, commonly (2) *tyānā* or sometimes (3) *tyānnā* (see p. 558 below). Navalkar looks down upon denasalization as his words "even by the higher classes" indicate. Now, however, this very denasalization is about to receive learned recognition in M.

But denasalization, in reality, took place even much earlier than Navalkar's time. In the article by G. K. Modak, referred to above, we see that even in Moropant's (died A.D. 1794) manuscripts there is considerable hesitation in writing this

nāsikya anusvāra. He does not omit any organic anusvāra and whenever he omits an anusvāra it is invariably the faint nāsikya anusvāra which to-day is felt but not heard. May we not infer from this that the weakening or loss of the nāsikya anusvāra dates back at least from the end of the eighteenth century ?

We know that nasalization was lost at an early period, particularly when associated with a high vowel like *i*. Already in the Middle Indian period this loss is noticeable, e.g. Sk. *viṁśati* > A.Mg. *vīsā*, Sk. *triṁśát-* > A.Mg. *tīsā* ; Sk. *siṁhá* > Pkt. *sīha*, etc. See Pischel, § 76. If we accept Pischel's derivation of M., A.Mg., Ś., *dāḍhā* from Sk. *daṁṣṭrā-* we can have an instance in which even without the presence of a high vowel nasalization has been lost in Middle Indian ; but the equation *ṣṭr* > *ḍh* renders this etymology doubtful. It is to be noted that what is lost is not a full nasal consonant but, as in M., mere nasalization of a vowel. This denasalization has descended into Modern Indo-Aryan. See Bloch, § 71. For the loss of Old Indo-Aryan anusvāra following the high vowel *i* in Modern Indo-Aryan generally and particularly for Bengali instances see S. K. Chatterji, *Bengali Language*, vol. i, § 177. The physiological reason for the early loss of nasalization in association with the high vowel *i* probably is, as suggested by Bloch, the unconscious reciprocal movement of the uvula to correspond to the position of the tongue. See J. Bloch, *La nasalité en indo-aryen*. Such loss was probably helped, at least in the beginning, by the fact that the nasal corresponding to the continuants, the proper anusvāra, e.g. corresponding to *ś* or *h* in words like Sk. *viṁśati-* or *siṁhá-*, could not be heard as distinctly as a class nasal before a corresponding plosive and therefore tended to be dropped out.

Besides numerals like M. *vīs* " twenty ", *tīs* " thirty ", etc., where the nasalization was lost after a high vowel, in the M. words *gosāvī* " an ascetic owning a cow " and *sāī* also a kind of *ascetic* from Sk. *go-svāmin-* and *svāmin-*, we probably

have instances of the early loss of nasalization *before* a high vowel. The general rule of the development of Sk. intervocalic *-m-* in M. is that it opens out into *-v-* at the same time imparting its nasality to the preceding vowel, e.g. Sk. *grāma-* > M. *gāv* (*gãva*). See Bloch, § 137. From Sk. *go-svāmin-*, therefore, we expect M. **go-sā̃vī* and from Sk. *svāmin-* > M. **sā̃vī* > **sā̃ī* > *sāī* with subsequent loss of nasalization. In *sāī* the *-v-* is lost perhaps because it is a word of politeness frequently used.

The standard M. of Poona, though based upon a denasalizing dialect and falling within the denasalizing area, has been, as indicated above (p. 540), strongly influenced by the nasalizing dialect spoken by the Kokṇasthas. This has created a hopeless confusion as to the value of the anusvāra. Words in which the anusvāra may be legitimate only as indicating nasalization seem to have come to be fixed in the language with the organic value of the anusvāra. Such is probably the explanation of the fact that from Sk. *mārjāra-* the form of the word in the Kokaṇa has mere nasalization, viz. *mā̃jar* "cat" while on the Deśa it has a class nasal, viz. *mānjar*. The class nasal, here, is dental *n* inasmuch as *j̈* is a dental affricate. The nasal consonant is *mānjar* cannot be explained merely as due to the initial nasal for this is not the general rule in M. Thus M. *māj̈(h)* "middle" from Sk. *madhya-* or *māthā* "head" from Sk. *mastaka-* or *māj̈ṇe* "to be rude, impudent" from Sk. *mādyati* has no spontaneous nasal in spite of the initial *m-*. These are all instances from the standard dialect. It is quite likely that in a dialect in which nasalizations are prominent, as in Kokṇasthī, the initial nasal consonant may nasalize the following vowel. Even on the Deśa we find instances of such nasalization, in the vulgar speech, where it further develops into a nasal consonant before a voiced plosive. This is, of course, not recognized in the standard speech or in the literary language. Thus for M. *-madhe* "in, within" (= Sk. *madhye*) an uneducated person is heard saying *-mandi*. Similarly *maṅg* for standard *mag* "after-

wards". Here we are clearly not dealing with the retention of a Sk. nasal before a voiced plosive. This is apparently a case in which spontaneous nasalization first appeared owing to the presence of an adjoining nasal consonant and was later developed into a full nasal consonant. A similar reasoning may be helpful in explaining the spontaneous nasal consonant in H. *naṅgā* as opposed to M. *nāgvā* "naked" from Sk. *nagna-* or H. *māṅgnā* as opposed to M. *māgṇe* "to ask for" from Sk. *mārgayati*.

Once the spontaneous nasalization appears the twofold value of the anusvāra helps the confusion between mere nasalization and the insertion of a nasal consonant. If the nasalization of, say, *mā̃jar* is to be emphasized and the change of denasalization has only left class nasals, the speaker will substitute the organic value of the anusvāra for the nāsikya one, and say *mānjar*. Thus *mānjar* would be a form of affectedly learned origin. Words borrowed from a nasalizing dialect into one which had lost nasalized vowels and possessed only nasal consonants may tend to be borrowed with the nasal consonant. Moreover such borrowings would be looked upon with greater favour, not only on account of the pre-eminence of the speakers of the nasalizing Kokṇasthī dialect, but also because the full nasal would give the word a more learned or Sanskritic appearance. Some such reasoning will explain at least some of the spontaneous nasals in M.

The nasalization of the vowel with the nāsikya anusvāra was at some period or other lost; but it certainly was present at one time, for it has come down to us orthographically and there is no reason for assuming it to be unreal from the beginning. Moreover without the existence of some sort of nasalization it would be hard to explain the presence of a nasal consonant which has apparently arisen out of it before voiced plosives. If the group nasal plus plosive had been simplified without leaving any trace of nasality we might have expected forms like *ăg. for M. ăṅg "body" from Sk. *áṅga-* just as we get M. *ăt* (*ăta*) "in, within" from Sk. *antár*. The *n* after

the long vowel *ā* which has undergone compensatory lengthening, cannot be explained without the existence of some sort of nasalization before the voiced plosive *g* in the actual form that we get in M., viz. *āṅg*.

The development of a homo-organic nasal consonant from a nasalized vowel followed by a voiced plosive is quite natural. It is only a matter of inaccurate timing or lack of synchronization. If the nasal passage, opened for the nasalization of the vowel, is left open for slightly too long a period and the organs of speech are already brought into position for making the following voiced plosive, inevitably an on-glide is heard. This on-glide is no other than the insertion of the homo-organic nasal consonant. Such an on-glide is less likely before an unvoiced than before a voiced consonant inasmuch as in the former case the voice is not carried right through and the loosening of the vocal chords, in anticipation of the unvoiced consonant, makes it more likely that the nasal passage be closed before rather than after its due time. Lack of synchronization is a recognized factor in phonetic change. We have a number of instances in which owing to inaccurate timing a homo-organic voiced plosive develops after a nasal consonant, e.g. Sk. *vānara-* > H. *bandar*, M. *vāndar* "monkey"; Sk. *carmakāra- cammaāra-* > M. *cāmb(h)ār*, etc. See P. D. Gune, *Introduction to Comparative Philology*, Poona, 1918, p. 51.

The importance of Sk. and of the nasalizing dialect may also serve to explain the formation of M. doublets like *tant*, *tāt* (*tā̃ta*) "thread" from Sk. *tántu-* or *kaṇṭā*, *kāṭā* (*kā̃ṭā*) "thorn" from Sk. *káṇṭaka-*. Orthography has led Bloch to accept both these forms as regular developments in M. See Bloch, § 68.

It seems, however, that the doublets with the short vowel plus the nasal consonant are learned and are practically confined to learned or affectedly learned use. They have escaped, apparently without any cause, the general change of compensatory lengthening. It is rather difficult to accept the theory that the change of compensatory lengthening

occurs only optionally in the case of these words, without any specific reason. If at all they belong to the language, they must have been incorporated into it after the change of compensatory lengthening had been completely worked out and was no longer operative. Moreover the fact is significant that the popular forms that are much more commonly used, from amongst these doublets, are those which have the long vowel. It seems reasonable, therefore, to accept only the forms with the long vowel and orthographic anusvāra as genuine tadbhavas and to look upon the doublets with the short vowel and nasal consonant as tatsamas or semi-tatsamas.

Bloch refers to these doublets only in the group nasal + unvoiced plosive. But it seems that such doublets are equally legitimate when the following consonant is a voiced plosive. Thus side by side with *ant*, *āt*, (*ãt*) we can also have doublets like *aṅg*, *āṅg* " body ", *bhaṅg* " breaking ", *bhāṅg* " parting of the hair ", etc. The doublets in the case of words having the voiced plosive are not as prominent as in the case of those that have the unvoiced plosive since the difference between the two doublets is more prominent in the latter than in the former. The temptation to undo the effects of compensatory length is much more feeble before voiced consonants than before unvoiced ones, to a person desirous of either displaying his knowledge of Sk. or to one who is anxious to emphasize nasalizations ; for in

Sk. *and-* > M. *ãd* or *ā*ⁿ*d* > *ānd*

the original Sk. and the tadbhava M. are very much alike, differing only in the length of the vowel ; but in

Sk. *ant* > M. *ãt* > *āt*

the original Sk. and the M. tadbhava differ not only in the length of the vowel but also in possessing or not possessing a nasal consonant. The difference between the lengths of the vowel is not as noticeable as the presence or absence of the nasal consonant. The development of the homo-organic

nasal before voiced plosives may very likely have been helped by the fact that it made the original Sk. word closely resemble the M. word derived from it. When, however, an attempt at such resemblance was made in the case of words having the unvoiced plosive, the speaker looking down upon denasalization was not merely satisfied with introducing the nasal consonant, but also tried to do away with the compensatory lengthening, thus giving rise to tatsama or semi-tatsama doublets. In front of voiced plosives compensatory length would be most prominent in initial syllables especially if the word begins with a vowel. In this case the temptation to undo the effects of compensatory length seems to be visible in the optional length of the initial *a* or *ā* of M., where the learned preference is exercised in favour of the short *a*. Thus we have both *aṅgaṇ* and *āṅgaṇ* "courtyard" where the latter would be the regular form and the former a learned doublet made to resemble the original Sk. word, *aṅgana-*. In the variation M. *ambā*, *āmbā* "mango" we have an instance of false analogy as the original Sk. word, *āmrá* has a long initial and not a short one as in *aṅgana-*.

The variation in M., therefore, is :—

(1) Long vowel nasalized + plosive, later becoming
(*a*) long vowel + nasal consonant + voiced plosive and
(*b*) long vowel denasalized + unvoiced plosive ;

(2) short vowel + nasal consonant + plosive, voiced or unvoiced.

Of these two the first is regular in the development of M. while the second is of learned origin. Illustrations of the first variation as affected by the subsequent change of denasalization will be found below, p. 554.

A. Lloyd James and S. G. Kanhere seem to be puzzled by the fact that orthographic देहांत is pronounced in two different ways and means two different things :—

" What decides which value is to be given to the dot is not clear, e.g. देहांत is pronounced *dehãt* = in the body, whereas

देहांत is pronounced *dehãntə* = end of body, death."—*School of Oriental Studies Bulletin*, vol. iv, pt. iv.

The explanation of this twofold pronunciation is to be found in the fact that whereas in one the second part is a tadbhava postposition *-ãt* (> *-āt*, from Sk. *antár*) "in, within", in the other the second part is a tatsama, Sk. *anta* "end". देहांत "in the body" is pronounced to-day without nasalization as *dehāt*.

The learned creation of doublets with a short vowel plus nasal consonant was probably helped by the equivocal value of the M. anusvāra. These doublets seem to have had a very wide extension. They seem to be at the bottom of certain spontaneous nasals of M. The influence of the Koknasthī dialect has already been referred to above and an explanation of the spontaneous nasal in M. *mãnjar* "cat" suggested. See p. 548. The nasal in this word has no counterpart in its Sk. original. Similarly from Sk. words not containing any nasal we have few other words in M. which seem to insert a spontaneous nasal consonant, e.g. Sk. *bhitti-* > M. *bhint* "wall"; Sk. *pippala-* > M. *pimpaḷ* "the peepal-tree"; Sk. *śikya-* > M. *śiṅke* "cord for hanging objects"; Sk. *vṛścika-* > M. *vincū* "scorpion"; Sk. *śipra-* > M. *śimp* "mother-of-pearl"; Sk. *śilpin-* > M. *śimpī* "tailor"; Sk. *ucca-* > M. *unċ* "tall, high"; Sk. *uṣṭra-* > M. *unṭ* "a camel"; Sk. *kūrca-* > M. *kunċā* "brush"; Sk. *kuṭṭinī-* > M. *kunṭaṇ*, *kunṭīṇ* "go-between"; Sk. *yudhyate* > M. *junjhṇe* beside vulgar *jujhṇe* "to fight"; Sk. *ācamana-* > *anċavṇe* "to wash the hands after a meal"; Sk. *vijñapti-* > M. *vinanti*,[1] "request"; Sk. *pakṣá-* > M. *paṅkh* "wing, feather".

For the spontaneous nasal consonant in the type M. *bhint*, *pimpaḷ*, etc., may we not have an explanation somewhat similar to that offered for the nasal in M. *mãnjar*? The cases are not exactly identical because in *bhint*, *pimpaḷ*, etc., there is no nasal consonant, preceding the spontaneous nasal

[1] Bloch, § 70, calls this word a "curieux tatsama".

consonant, which may nasalize the vowel and later develop a class nasal. All the same for the type *bhint*, *pimpaḷ*, we also have doublets—but doublets that are looked down upon as vulgar and not recognized in the standard M. Forms like *bhĩt* (*bhiṭãḍ*), *pĩpaḷ* (*pipaḷ*) are also heard in the speech of the uneducated lower classes. These forms are probably genuine tadbhavas while the doublets with the short vowel and nasal consonant are most probably of learned origin. The forms in the vulgar speech are not influenced by orthography and are correctly maintained without any nasal. Where the M. anusvāra goes back to a Sk. nasal we have forms containing both the short and the long vowel with the anusvāra. But in the type *bhint*, *pimpaḷ*, there never was even a nāsikya anusvāra on the long vowels in *bhĩt*, *pĩpaḷ*, and therefore when the forms with the short vowel and anusvāra were recognized, the anusvāra stood for a nasal consonant and the new forms completely ousted *bhĩt*, *pĩpaḷ*, etc., which have been fortunately preserved to us in the vulgar speech of to-day.

A peculiar, though not very convincing, explanation of the spontaneous nasal consonant in M. *nirãnjan* "an article used in worship", may be noted here. This is offered by R. B. Joshi in his *M. Bhāṣecī Ghaṭanā*, § 195. The reason is, according to him, *saukarya-pakṣapāta*, or selection in favour of the easier. He says that the original and proper word is *nīrājana*. It has been erroneously confounded with *nirañ-jana-*, a very common epithet of Brahman, and for the sake of ease changed to *nirãnjan*! This explanation is mentioned here because in what follows Joshi furnishes an indirect corroboration of the explanation suggested above for the nasal consonant in M. *mãnjar*. He says, that the Kokṇī people pronounce the word with the anusvāra and later the anusvāra so commonly known in the Kokaṇa came to be used on *rā* in the original word *nīrājana* for the sake of ease in pronunciation, "*mūḷcā śabda nīrājan yātīl 'rā'var uccārāċe soyī sāṭhī kokṇātlā phār paricit jo anusvār to deṇyācī ċāl paḍlī* . . ."

Below are given some words illustrating the development or retention of the nasal consonant before voiced plosives and its loss elsewhere.

(1) Sk. nasal + voiced plosive > M. nasal + voiced plosive :

Sk.	*Orthographic M.*	*M. pronunciation.*	*Meaning.*
aṅgana-	*âṁgana*	*âṅgaṇ*	courtyard.
áṅga-	*âṁga*	*âṅg*	body
	âṁghoḷa	*âṅghoḷ*	bathing.
aṅgúṣṭha-	*âṁgaṭhā*	*âṅgṭhā*	thumb.
aṅgúli-	*âṁguḷa*	*âṅguḷ-ī*	finger.
aṇḍa-	*âṁḍa-ẽ*	*âṇḍ-e*	egg, testicle.
âmla-	*âṁba*	*âmb*	bitter extract from gram nut.
âmrá-	*âṁbā*	*âṁbā*	mango.
udumbára-	*uṁbara*	*umbar*	glomerous fig-tree.
amaṅgala-	*oṁgaḷa*	*ongaḷ*	dirty, impure.
añjali-	*oṁjaḷ*	*onjaḷ*	handful.
ava + lamb-	*oḷaṁbaṇẽ*	*oḷambṇe*	to depend upon.
kaṅgu-	*kâṁga*	*kâṅg*	a kind of berry.
kand-	*kâṁdā*	*kândā*	onion.
kambalí-	*kâṁbaḷẽ*	*kâmbḷe*	blanket.
kumbhakâra-	*kuṁbhāra*	*kumbhār*	potter.
khaṇḍa-	*khâṁḍa*	*khâṇḍ*	a small piece.
skandha-	*khâṁdā*	*khândā*	shoulder.
skambhá-	*khâṁba*	*khâmb*	post, pillar.
gañjā-	*gâṁjā*	*gânjā*	an intoxicating herb.
candrá-	*câṁda*	*ĉând*	moon.
jambū-, jambula-	*jâṁba, jâṁbhaḷa*	*jâmb, jâmbhaḷ*	particular kinds of fruit.
jáṅghā-	*jâṁgha*	*jâṅgh*	upper thigh joint.
stambha-	*thoṁba*	*ṭhomb*	dullard.
tâmrá-	*tâṁbẽ*	*tâmbe*	copper.
tuṇḍa-	*toṁḍa*	*toṇḍ*	mouth, face.
stambh-	*thâṁbaṇẽ*	*thâmbṇe*	to stop.
paṅgu-	*pâṁgā, pâṁgaḷā*	*pâṅgā, pâṅgḷā*	lame.
pañjara-	*pâṁjara-(poḷa)*	*pânjar-(poḷ)*	cage, fold.
paṇḍitá-	*pâṁḍyā*	*pâṇḍyā*	Benaras Brahmin.
pâṇḍura-	*pâṁḍharā*	*pâṇḍhrā*	white.
piṇḍa-	*peṁḍa*	*peṇḍ*	a kind of cake for cattle.
	peṁḍhī	*peṇḍhī*	a bundle (of hay)
bandh-	*bâṁdhaṇẽ*	*bândhṇe*	to tie.
bindú-	*biṁdalī*	*bindlī*	a particular ornament.
	buṁdī	*bundī*	a kind of sweet.

Sk.	Ortho-graphic M.	M. pronun-ciation.	Meaning.
bhaṅgá-	*bhāṁga*	*bhāṅg*	parting of the hair.
bhañjanikā-	*bhāṁjaṇī*	*bhānjaṇī*	division after a certain mode.
bhāṇḍa-	*bhāṁḍẽ*	*bhāṇḍe*	pot.
bhāṇḍāgāra-	*bhāṁḍāra*	*bhāṇḍār*	store.
maṇḍana-	*māṁḍaṇẽ*, *māṁḍaṇī*	*māṇḍṇe*, *māṇḍṇī*	to arrange, arrangement.
mātaṅga-	*māṁga*	*māṅg*	name of a caste.
maṇḍapa-	*māṁḍava*	*māṇḍav*	festive tent.
meṇḍhra-	*meṁḍhā*	*meṇḍhā*	goat.
raṇḍā-	*rāṁḍa*	*rāṇḍ*	a prostitute.
rāndhayati	*rāṁdhaṇẽ*	*rāndhṇe*	to cook.
lamba-	*lāṁba*	*lāmb*	long, distant.
lohá + khaṇḍa-	*lokhaṁḍa*	*lokhaṇḍ*	iron.
lambate	*loṁbaṇẽ*	*lombṇe*	to be suspended, to hang from.
vandhyā-	*vāṁjha*	*vānjh*	barren (woman).
saṅgata-	*saṁgẽ*	*saṅge*	with.
sandhyā-	*sāṁja*	*sānj*	evening.
sandhí-	*sāṁdhā*	*sāndhā*	joint.
śámbara-	*sāṁbara*	*sāmbar*	deer-like animal.
śŕṅga-	*śiṁga*	*śiṅg*	horn.
śr̥ṅgāṭaka-	*śiṁgāḍā-*	*śiṅgāḍā*	water-chestnut.
śikhaṇḍá-	*śeṁḍā*	*śeṇḍā*	top.
sindūra-	*śeṁdūra*	*śendūr*	red-lead.
śuṇḍā-	*soṁḍa*	*soṇḍ*	trunk of an elephant.
hambhā-	*haṁbaraṇẽ*	*hambarṇe*	lowing (of cows).
hiṅgu-	*hĩṁga*	*hĩṅg*	assafœtida.

Loss of Sk. nasal

(2) before unvoiced plosives :—

Sk.	Ortho-graphic M.	M. pronun-ciation.	Meaning.
aṅká-	*āṁkaḍā*	*ākḍā*	number.
antár	*-āṁta, āṃta*	*-āt, āt*	in, within.
antra-	*āṁtaḍẽ*	*ātḍe*	bowel.
kaṅkaṇa-	*kāṁkaṇa*	*kākaṇ*	bangle.
káṇṭaka-	*kāṁṭa*	*kāṭā*	thorn.
kaṇṭhá-	*kāṁṭha*	*kāṭh*	edge, bank of a river.
kamp-	*kāṁpaṇẽ*	*kāpṇe*	to tremble.
granthi-	*gāṁṭha*	*gāṭh*	knot, meeting.
ghaṇṭā-	*ghāṁṭa*	*ghāṭ*	bell.
campaka-	*cāṁp(h)a*	*cāp(h)a*	a kind of tree with white or yellow flowers.
cañcu-	*coṁca, ṭoṁca*	*ṭoć, ṭoć*	beak.
tántu-	*tāṁta*	*tāt*	string, fibre.

Sk.	*Ortho-graphic M.*	*M. pronun-ciation.*	*Meaning.*
dánta-	*dāṁta*	*dāt*	tooth.
páñcan-	*pāṁca*	*pāċ*	five.
romantha-	*ravaṁtha*	*ravat(h)*	rumination.
lañcā-	*lāṁca*	*lāċ*	bribe.
vañcayati	*vāṁcaṇẽ*	*vāċṇe*	to escape.
vaṇṭ-	*vāṁṭaṇẽ*	*vāṭṇe*	to distribute.
śṛṅkhalā-	*sāṁkhaḷī*	*sākhḷī*	chain.
sam + caya-	*sāṁcaṇẽ*	*sāċṇe*	to accumulate.
sam + patati	*sāṁpaḍaṇẽ*	*sāpaḍṇe*	to be found.

(3) before other consonants :—

Sk.	*Ortho-graphic M.*	*M. pronun-ciation.*	*Meaning.*
kāṃsya-	*kāṁsẽ*	*kāse*	bell metal.
kāṃsyakāra-	*kāṁsāra, kāsāra*	*kāsār*	a dealer in bangles or in metals.
māṃsá-	*māṁsa, māsa*	*mās*	flesh.
vaṃśá- (-ka-)	*vāṁsā, vāsā*	*vāsā*	bamboo, rafter.

Where the anusvāra goes back to Sk. intervocalic *-m-* it is not pronounced in M. :—

Sk.	*Ortho-graphic M.*	*M. pronun-ciation.*	*Meaning.*
amāvāsyā-	*aṁvasa*	*avas*	new moon.
āmá-	*āṁva*	*āv*	dysentery.
avamala-	*oṁvaḷā, ovaḷā*	*ovḷā*	impure for religious purposes.
kumāra-	*kuṁvara*	*kuvar*	young boy.
godhūma-	*gahū̃*	*gahū*	wheat.
grāma-	*gāṁva*	*gāv*	town, village.
jāmātṛ-	*jāṁvaī*	*jāvaī*	son-in-law.
nāman-	*nāṁva*	*nāv*	name.
bhramara-	*bhoṁvarā*	*bhovrā*	whirlpool.
lóman-	*laṁva*	*lav*	short hair on the body.
vyāmá-	*vāṁva*	*vāv*	distance between one's stretched hands ; room.
śyāmala-	*sāṁvaḷā*	*sāvḷā*	swarthy, dark.
himá-	*hīṁva*	*hīv*	cold, malaria.

In the following words even the orthography does not show the anusvāra even as optional :—

Sk. *paryanka-* > M. *pālkhī* " palanquin ".
Sk. *manca-* > M. *māċā-ī* " bedstead or cot ".

There is a large number of words in M. which have a

spontaneous anusvāra which is not pronounced, at least to-day. This anusvāra seems to be merely orthographic and of learned origin. It is doubtful how far, if at all, this anusvāra possessed any real value on the Deśa at least in the popular speech. Some instances are given below.

It is noteworthy that a few of these words are also, at times, written without the anusvāra.

Sk.	*Ortho-graphic M.*	*M. pronun-ciation.*	*Meaning.*
apavāraka-	*oṁvarā, ovarī*	*ovrī*	a room in a temple.
upavāsa-	*oṁvasā, vasā*	*ovsā, vasā*	a religious vow.
yā́vat	*jõ*	*jo (paryant)*	uptil
yugala-	*juṁvaḷa*	*juvaḷa*	twin.
dhā́vati	*dhāṁvaṇē*	*dhāvṇe*	to run.
pravāda-	*paṁvāḍā, pavāḍā*	*pavāḍā*	a heroic recital.
-	*poṁvāḍā, povāḍā*	*povāḍā*	
bhrū-	*bhuṁvaī*	*bhuvaī*	eyebrow.
	bhaṁvaī	*bhavaī*	
ákṣa-	*āṁsa, āsa*	*ās*	axle.
ákṣa-	*āṁkha*	*ākh*	temples of the head.
arci-	*āṁca*	*āč*	heat.
áśru-	*āṁsu, āsu*	*āsu, āsave*, pl.	tear, tears.
ikṣú-	*ūṁsa, ūsa*	*ūs*	sugarcane.
yūkā-	*ū̃, ū*	*ū*	louse.
uccaya-	*oṁca*	*očā*	a sort of pocket in a lady's saree.
karkaṭikā	*kāṁkaḍī, kākaḍī*	*kākḍī*	cucumber.
kákṣa-	*kāṁkha, kākha*	*kākh, khāk*	armpit.
kaccha-	*kāṁcyā, kācyā*	*kācyā*	a particular way of tying the dhoti.
kr̥tana-	*kāṁtaṇē, kātaṇe*	*kātṇe*	to spin.
kŕ̥tti-	*kāṁta*	*kāt*	snake skin.
kakṣā-	*kāṁsa, kāsa*	*kās*	waist, udder.
kaśyápa- *kacchapa-*	*kāṁsava,* *kāsava* }	*kāsav*	tortoise.
karkaṭaka-	*kheṁkaḍā, khekaḍā*	*khekḍā*	crab.
guccha-	*ghoṁsa, ghosa*	*ghos*	bunch.
carcarīti, cancala-	*cāṁcaraṇē,* *cācaraṇē* }	*čāčarṇe*	waver, hesitate.
tarakṣa-	*taraṁsa, tarasa*	*taras*	hyena.
pakṣá-	*pāṁkhē, pākhē*	*pākha*	side of a roof.
pā́śa-	*phāṁsā, phāsā*	*phāsā*	noose, snare.
vatsa-rūpa-	*vāsarū, vāṁsarū*	*vāsrū*	calf.
satyá-	*sācē, sāṁcā*	*sāčā*	true.

The lines on which denasalization has been worked out in Modern M. have already been indicated above. Except in front of voiced plosives the M. anusvāra has lost its phonetic value in all genuine tadbhava words. Once nasalization had disappeared and thus the nāsikya value of the M. anusvāra had ceased to exist, wherever the anusvāra continued to possess any value for some reason or other, it stood for a nasal consonant before plosives. Before continuants in such cases, on account of the faintness of their homo-organic nasal, the commonest nasal consonant, viz. dental *n*, is generally substituted for the nasalization of the preceding vowel.

Instances of this are to be found when different postpositions are attached to the oblique plural, for the anusvāra of the oblique plural, on account of its semantic value, is still maintained, e.g. देवांचा *devānċā* "of the gods"; देवांशी *devānśī* side by side with *devā̃śī* "with the gods". The anusvāra here serves to distinguish the plural from the singular forms like *devāċā* "of the god"; *devāśī* "with the god". The anusvāra of the oblique plural is descended from Sk. -*nām*, the termination of the genitive plural. See Bloch, § 183. The anusvāra of the neuter nominative plural in -*e* (-*ẽ*) of M. is likewise descended from an original terminational intervocalic -*n*- of Sk. -*āni* (Bloch, § 187). But it has fallen a victim to denasalization inasmuch as it has no particular semantic value as in the case of the oblique plural.

In the oblique plural, in at least one case, the anusvāra has merged into a postposition and has thus given rise to a new and distinct postposition for the plural. This is illustrated by the so-called "old terminations" of the dative as given by R. B. Joshi, *Pr. Vy.*, § 152, (*a*) -*s* (-*sa*), -*lā*, -*te* (-*tẽ*) are common both to the singular and the plural, but *nā* is an additional postposition for the dative plural. This -*nā* is really the same as -*lā*, only it incorporates the nasalization indicated by the anusvāra of the oblique plural. (See Bloch, § 72.) Navalkar, M. Gr., § 78, and Joshi, *Pr. Vy.*, § 153,

incorrectly trace this *-nā* to the *-nām* of the gen. pl. in Sk. The general tendency to-day, therefore, is to use *-nā* for the plural and *-lā* for the singular; *-s* is less common and *-te* is practically used only in poetry. Cf. N. C. Kelkar's article referred to above, p. 545.

Accordingly Kelkar in his *Ṭiḷak-caritra*, referring to Mr. Tilak in the respectful plural, uses the form *ṭiḷkānā* (टिळकांना) "to Mr. Tilak." But even though *-nā* incorporates the anusvāra, the M. grammars still require an orthographic anusvāra on the preceding vowel. This, together with the strong consciousness in the mind of the speaker as to the existence of the still significant anusvāra in all the other oblique plural forms, has led to the analogical reintroduction of an organic anusvāra before *-nā* and created forms with *-nnā*. Thus side by side with *ṭiḷkānā* we also hear *ṭiḷkānnā*.

In the case of the oblique plural the organic value of the anusvāra, however, has not as yet gained complete victory and forms with the original and proper nāsikya anusvāra are still current. The tendency seems to be to avoid forms with mere nasalization either by substituting the organic value of the anusvāra or by using the full form of the genitive plural (with the organic anusvāra) before a postposition. Thus for देवांकडे "towards gods", the form *devāṅkaḍe* is more commonly used than the correct *devākaḍe*; it is, however, often differently expressed as *devāncyā kaḍe*. In *devāncyā* it is worth noting that though the *c* has been palatalized on account of the following *y*, its original nature as a dental affricate *ċ*, as before any other vowel, e.g. *ċā, ċe, ċa, ċū*, except the palatal *i*, e.g. *ci*, is responsible for the dental *n* value of the anusvāra preceding it.

The oblique plural is practically the only case where the orthographic anusvāra of M. still continues to possess any value in M. inflexion. We shall now note a few cases in which an anusvāra appeared in M. inflexion from a nasal consonant of Sk. but which no longer possesses any phonetic value.

(1) Sk. group *-nt-* lost its nasal very early. This loss

is seen in the 3rd plural present of M. in *-atī* and *-at* (< Sk. *-anti*) and also in the present participle in *-at* (< Pkt. *-anta*). See Bloch, § 71 and § 255. Here the nasal consonant appears, most probably, to have passed through the stage of nasalizing the previous vowel. Rajawade actually gives in his *Jñ. Vy.*, § 44, some forms of the 3rd pl. pres. from the *Jñāneśvarī* with nasalized penultimate vowel, e.g. *hõti* "are", *karãti* "they do", etc. It is unfortunately not clear how far Rajawade is relying upon manuscript evidence in giving these instances but at the same time there seems to be no reason to doubt their authenticity. Some trace of the original nasal is also found in the Pāṭaṇ inscription (Śaka 1128) where the present participle *hõtā* "becoming" is written with the anusvāra, side by side with *vikateyā* "to one who sells" without it. Rajawade also gives a number of instances of present participles having nasalized vowels, in his grammar of the *Jñāneśvarī*, e.g. *dẽta* "giving", *pāvãta* "obtaining, reaching", etc., side by side with those without nasalization like *asata*, *mhaṇata*, etc. See *Jñ.*, *Vy.* § 60. This nasalization has at a subsequent period completely disappeared and neither the 3rd pl. pres. nor the present participle any longer show any trace of the original nasal—not even a valueless orthographic anusvāra, cf. Joshi, *Pr. Vy.*, § 213 (1) and § 236 (3). The indeclinable present participle expressing state, which is an old locative of the present participle, has likewise lost all trace of the original nasal, e.g. *boltā* (*bolatā*) *boltānā* "while speaking" not **bolãtẽ*, cf. Joshi, *Pr. Vy.*, § 236 (4) and (5), and Bloch, § 262.

In the development of the Sk. group *-nt-* in terminations, it may be said that we have an early occurrence of the change of denasalization which has been recognized by M. grammarians in at least the instances discussed just above.

(2) Sk. final *-m*. We have seen (p. 539) that already in Sk. the final *-m* was a weak sound. It has, however, left its trace in M. by giving an anusvāra on the preceding vowel.

This anusvāra as we shall see below has ceased to possess any nasal value.

(*a*) The final anusvāra in the second personal pronoun तूं "thou", from Sk. *tvam*, is not pronounced, e.g. *tū ye* "come".

(*b*) M. infinitives with the final anusvāra go back to Sk. formations in *-tum*. See Bloch, § 265, and Rajawade, *Jñ. Vy.*, § 65. This anusvāra has lost all its value. Thus *karū* (*karū̃*) "to do"; *pāhū* (*pāhū̃*) "to see"; *dhāvū* (*dhāvū̃*) "to run"; *uṭhū* (*uṭhū̃*) "to stand", etc.

(*c*) The largest class of words having an anusvāra on their final syllable is furnished by the neuter declension. The rule is that all words in the neuter gender, except those ending in *-a*, have the anusvāra on their final syllable. See Joshi, *Pr. Vy.*, § 125–6. The anusvāra here goes back to a final *-m* of Sk., cf. Bloch, § 191. The exception of *-a* stems may be due to the fact that this final *-a* has no real existence and is not pronounced, cf. Joshi, *Pr. Vy.*, § 119, note 2. But it seems probable that we may have here an early recognition of denasalization as in the development of the Sk. group *nt* (above (1), p. 559). It seems that final nasalization was lost sooner in the case of older M. stems ending in *-a* rather than those ending in any other vowel, e.g. Middle Indian *-aṁ* may become M. *-a* without nasalization, even when *-iaṁ* > M. *-ĩ* still continued to be nasalized. At a subsequent period, however, all the final anusvāras have lost their value and neuter words are no longer pronounced with nasalized final vowel. The earlier loss of nasalization may have been helped by the fact that whereas other final vowels tend to be shortened the final *-a*, being itself short, tends to be dropped out altogether and hence loses its nasalization quicker, e.g. *ghare* (*gharẽ*) "houses" > *ghara* but (*ghara*) has already come to be pronounced *ghar* though the final *-a* persists in the orthography. The sequence probably was somewhat as follows :—

Sk. *bilam* > *bilaṁ* > Old or Pre- M. **biḷā̃* > M. *biḷa* > *bīḷ*
" a hole ",

like

Sk. *mauktikam* > *mottiaṁ* > M. *motī̃* > *motī* " pearl ".

When Mr. Rajawade notes that street hawkers call out *dahī:a* for *dahī* (> *dahi*) " curds ", *motī:a* for *motī̃* (> *motī*) with the *pluta* final (*Jñ. Vy.*, § 15), we may regard these as instances of denasalization in the popular speech. Other instances of the loss of the value of the final anusvāra of neuter words: *bī* (*bī̃*) " seed " from Sk. *bījam*; *jū* (*jū̃* < Sk. *yugám*) " yoke "; *vāghrū* (*vāgharū̃* < Sk. *vyāghra-* + *rūpa-*) " tiger-like animal "; *ghoḍe* (*ghoḍẽ* < Sk. *ghoṭaka-*) " horse "; *karṇe* (*karaṇẽ* < Sk. *kṛ-*) " doing ", etc.

From neuter nouns the final anusvāra had been extended to verbs agreeing with them on account of the predominance of participial constructions. See Devadhar, *Resumé M. Gr.*, p. 164, and Bloch, § 243 ff. Here too denasalization has been carried out and तें रडतें " It cries " is pronounced *te raḍte*, etc.

(3) We have already seen how the nasalization of the previous vowel resulting from an intervocalic *-m-* of Sk. has been lost in M. in the body of the word, e.g. type Sk. *amāvāsyā-* > M. *avas*. See p. 556 above. In the body of the word Sk. *-m-* had become M. *-ṁv-*, i.e. *-v-* together with nasalization of the preceding vowel. In terminations we do not get this *-v-* but only the anusvāra. For this reason we get the rule that in M. all verbs agreeing with the first person have an anusvāra on their final syllable inasmuch as these forms are mostly based upon the old present with its reminiscences of the intervocalic *-m-* in Sk. *-mi* and *-maḥ*. See Devadhar, *Resumé M. Gr.*, p. 164; cf. Rajawade, *Jñ. Vy.*, § 44; Joshi, *Pr. Vy.*, § 216–17, and Bloch, § 230 and especially § 235–8. To-day these anusvāras are no longer pronounced, e.g.

> *mī*, *bolto -te* (*bolatõ -tẽ*) " I (masc. fem.) speak ".
> *amhī bolto* (*bolatõ*) " we speak ".
> *mī kare* (*karẽ*) " I used to do ".

amhī karū (*karū̃*) " We used to do ".
mī gelo (*gelõ*) " I went ".
amhī ,, " we went ".
mī gele (*gelẽ*) " I (fem.) went ", etc.

(4) In M. declension the anusvāras going back to Sk. nasal consonants have likewise lost their pronunciation.

(*a*) neuter nominative plural :—

Sk. *-āni* > *-āiṁ* > M. *-ẽ* > *-e*.

e.g. *phaḷe* (*phaḷẽ*) " fruits " ; *ghare* (*gharẽ*) " houses " ; *muḷe* (*muḷẽ*) " roots " ; etc.

The loss of the anusvāra of the singular we have already noted above in (2) (*c*) p. 561. For the anusvāra in the neuter declension generally see Bloch, § 187 and § 191.

(*b*) Traces of the intrumental singular in *-ena* of Sk. are found in the termination *-e* (*-ẽ*) of M. See Bloch, § 193. This termination is still found in isolated words and when so found it is pronounced without any nasalization, e.g. *-muḷe* (*-ẽ*) " on account of " ; *-prakāre* (*-ẽ*) " in the manner of " ; *-māge* (*-ẽ*) " behind " ; *-puḍhe* (*-ẽ*) " in front of ", etc. This termination is probably incorporated in the postposition now in use viz. *-ne* (*-nẽ*) which, however, is also pronounced without any nasalization, e.g. *sāpāne* (*-nẽ*) " by a snake ", etc. The same is the case with the instrumental plural where the anusvāra goes back to Middle Indian. Sk. *-ebhiḥ* > *-ehiṁ* > M. *-ī* (*-ī̃*), which as in the singular seems to have been incorporated in the modern *-nī* (*-nī̃*), e.g. *devānī* (*devānī̃*) " by the gods ", etc., cf. Bloch, § 193, 2. For the general extension of the anusvāra—which has subsequently lost its nasal value—in the instrumental case see Joshi, *Pr. Vy.*, p. 110, " There is an anusvāra at the end of all the terminations of the instrumental."

(*c*) There are two old terminations of the locative, *-ī* (*-ī̃*) and *-ā* (*-ā̃*), which have an anusvāra. The origin of this anusvāra is not quite clear. See Bloch, § 194. These old terminations have survived in isolated words and postpositions,

especially in those indicating time or place. But wherever they still occur they are no longer pronounced with any nasalization, e.g. *hātī* (*hātī*) "at hand"; *dārī* (-*ī*) "at the door"; *pāyā* (-*ā*) "at or on the feet", etc. The indeclinable present participles furnish us with a large number of old locatives in -*ā* (-*ā*). See above, p. 563. In these participles the final -*ā* is not nasalized in pronunciation, e.g. *kartā* (-*ā*) "while doing"; *dhartā* (-*ā*) "while catching"; *paḍtā* (*paḍatā*) "while falling", etc.

Thus in the case of the terminations discussed here even though older nasalization still continues to be indicated by an anusvāra, this anusvāra has come to be merely orthographic and has lost all its phonetic value. This denasalization has been so completely effected that in using old proverbs or in reading, reciting or singing old M. poems the speaker ignores all the nāsikya anusvāras even though we can almost certainly say that the anusvāra must have had a real value, viz. that of nasalizing the vowel, at the time when the proverbs first came into vogue or when the poems in question were composed. Thus an old proverb *manī vasc tẽ svapnī dise*, is pronounced to-day as *manī vase te svapnī dise* "thoughts are reflected in dreams". Nāmadeva, who lived in the fourteenth century, writes as follows :—

kaliyugācẽ mulẽ | jhālẽ dharmācẽ vāṭolẽ ||

which is read to-day as

kaliyugāce mule | jhāle dharmāce vāṭole ||

"On account of the Kali Age, Dharma has been totally destroyed."

Tukārāma, who lived in the seventeenth century, is quoted as saying, *tyāce galā māla aso naso* "Be there a garland round his neck or not", which, however, is orthographically :

tyācc galā māla aso naso.

Thus we can see what an important part denasalization has played in the history of the modern standard Marāṭhī of Poona. The apparent leaning in learned circles towards

recognition of this phenomenon may perhaps be partially explained by the gradually waning importance of Sk. and also by the comparative decrease in the predominance of persons speaking the Kokṇī or Kokṇasthī dialect. There is no longer any glory attached to the knowledge or rather the show of knowledge of Sanskrit. Nor is it any longer an enviable distinction, social or political, to speak through the nose and emphasize all nasalizations. For all practical purposes the purely orthographic anusvāra continues to be pronounced only in class-rooms and that too for facility in dictation so that the school boys may be able to write the anusvāra whereever the Marāṭhī grammars require it.

The Samaritan Hebrew Sources of the Arabic Book of Joshua

By M. GASTER

(PLATE VI)

IN 1848 Juynboll published the Arabic text with a Latin translation and elaborate introduction of a Samaritan work, which he called the Samaritan Chronicle. He printed it from a MS. in the Leyden library deposited there by Scaliger; this MS. belonged to the fourteenth century. It was written by two hands, the second part being of a somewhat later date. Juynboll was quite justified in calling it a chronicle, although the largest part of the MS. consists of the book of Joshua. It is a paraphrase of the book of Joshua of the Jewish Bible, containing chiefly the first chapters to which various legendary stories had been added. But the MS. contains much more. It starts with the appointment of Joshua as successor to Moses, in the latter's lifetime, then the history of Bileam, slightly differing from the record in the Bible, then also two different recensions of the death of Moses are given, after which, with a special heading, the book of Joshua begins. At the end of it the history is continued; it is very fragmentary. Within a very brief space the story of the Exile, under Bokht Nasar—the Arabic form for Nebuchadnezzer—is told, and then it is continued in the same brief form down to the time of Baba Rabba—second or third century—the great hero of Samaritan history. The Samaritans considered him as the one who had been able to throw off the yoke of the foreign rulers and to obtain for them a certain amount of political liberty.

Judging the book by this character, Juynboll rightly calls it a chronicle and this description agrees with that given by the Samaritans themselves to their history. To the Samaritans the Pentateuch stands by itself. It is their only Holy Book.

With the death of Moses begins, as it were, the secular history. Whatever happens hereafter and has been confined to writing is no more treated as sacred scripture. Their own history begins thus with the entry of Joshua into Canaan, and is continued by their chroniclers by adding the record of contemporary events to those recorded before. It is quite in the style of all the oriental and medieval chronicles. The old remains intact. Every subsequent chronicle is thus more or less a continuation, sometimes more elaborate, sometimes more limited, but the old material remains unchanged, and, therefore, this Arabic book of Joshua could also be called a chronicle.

Juynboll, who has written a very important introduction examining the book from every point of view, especially the philological, has never as much as touched upon the sources of this compilation. It may not have struck him that the book may have been a translation from an older Samaritan one. At his time very little was known of the Samaritan literature; with the exception of a few MSS. in Leyden and in London no sources were then available, and, therefore, the question was not even raised. Matters have changed very considerably since. I have been able to obtain a very large number of MSS.—most of them now in my collection in the British Museum—and also much information from the Samaritans which was unavailable then. The problem, therefore, can now be raised with the hope of reaching some satisfactory solution; it would also throw light on the Samaritan Hebrew book of Joshua, but of this I will refrain for the time being, and keep strictly to the question of the sources of the Arabic story.

Juynboll did not know that there exists also another more complete text of the same Arabic book. In this the story begins much earlier, with the going of the twelve spies to Canaan. On the other hand, it is not carried so far down as in the MS. Juynboll has used. After the tale of Alexander the final chapter contains only the tale of Amram and his

daughter, second or first century B.C.E.[1] In itself a proof of a higher antiquity than the Juynboll text found also in the British Museum MS. No. Add. 19956.

It so happened that the Samaritans had in their possession a MS. different to that in the British Museum. It is of the same age as the Leyden MS. (fourteenth century), and it is also written by two hands. When I was engaged in the publication of the Samaritan Hebrew book of Joshua I learned from them that they possessed such a MS. I wrote for it, but before my letter reached the Samaritans somebody else had stepped in and purchased it. This MS. then disappeared, and I was unable to trace it until quite recently, when, through the kindness of Professor Marx, of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, I learnt that in some way or other it had got into the Adler collection which had been acquired by that institution. At my request the chapters missing in Juynboll were most courteously sent to me in photostat, for which I wish to thank Professor Marx. This, as well as the MS. in the British Museum, is written in Arabic, whilst the Leyden MS. is written in Samaritan characters. I also obtained from the Samaritans three copies, two in Arabic and one in Samaritan characters, all of recent date.

The true character of this compilation, however, is that it was not originally meant to be a chronicle. It was a kind of special history of their great hero, Joshua. They acclaimed him not only as the great conqueror of Palestine, but also as the man who, together with the high priest Eleazar (son of Aaron), established the sanctuary on Mount Garizim, and thus preserved, as they maintain, the old law which, according to Samaritan tradition, commanded the Temple to be built on Mount Garizim.[2] Joshua, moreover,

[1] I discovered it to be the parallel to the Apocryphal story of Susanna, an English translation of which appears in my *Studies and Text*, chap. x, pp. 284 ff.

[2] This is an essential feature of the Samaritan creed, it is the very corner-stone upon which their dissent from the Jews is built, and to this very day Garizim is to them the Sacred Mount.

represented the tribe of Ephraim. The Samaritans claim to be the descendants of the tribes of Ephraim and Menasseh; Joshua thus becomes a national hero of the northern tribes of the Israelites. No wonder, therefore, that they endeavoured to write, as it were, a kind of epic poem of the life and achievements of Joshua. To this purpose every incident in the Pentateuch is eagerly seized upon and greatly embellished, and all these woven together into one single romance. This explains why, in the same complete MS., the history begins with the exploits of Joshua when sent with the other ten men to find out everything about the land of Canaan. It was a dangerous adventure and it is, therefore, one of the motifs of the first chapter. This contains a detailed account of these adventures, of the places which they reached, of the kings with whom they came in contact, of the manner in which they escaped, and many other incidents which happened to them on that errand. Then follows the story of Joshua's military expedition against Bileam, and the rôle which he played, then the tale of his campaign against the Midianites, then his election and the rôle which he played after the death of Moses, and this leads up naturally to the history of the conquest of Canaan.

In the first place, the question must be answered: Is this an absolutely independent work? Secondly, were the sources used by the author Arabic or Samaritan? In point of fact, this second question is practically answered, for in the prologue to the Arabic chronicle, published by Juynboll, the author says distinctly that this is translated from the *Hebrew* language. There can be no doubt that this work is not original. Therefore he himself owns, not only that the book is not original—which, of course, it cannot be since it follows in the main the Biblical record—but that he has translated it into Arabic from Hebrew sources. Thus neither is the work an original composition nor has it been taken from older Arabic sources.

But there is another somewhat weighty piece of evidence

to be adduced which shows that the Samaritans themselves knew that the Arabic was merely a translation of an older Hebrew Samaritan text. It is found in a MS. which I have obtained from the Samaritans, after the death of Ab Sakhua, whose name has been mentioned frequently as the "author" of the Samaritan Hebrew book of Joshua. The mystery can now be fully explained. I was able to acquire, through the intermediary of the Priest Abisha, the largest part of Ab Sakhua's library; practically all the MSS. he left behind with the exception of a collection of prayer books. I was anxious to find out whether, among his MSS., there was really a copy of that Hebrew Samaritan book, for if he had anything to do with it, if he were the real author, surely he would have kept a copy. This is the general practice among the Samaritans, and he made no exception. To my surprise no such copy was found, but something else which bears on the question before us and explains the misunderstanding which had arisen at the time. Among these MSS. there was his autographed copy of the Samaritan translation of the Arabic book of Joshua, made by him in 1908. When, therefore, questions were asked among the Samaritans as to whether a book of Joshua had been translated from the Arabic, or whether they had an independent book of Joshua, they took them to refer to the present work and they therefore told the truth when they asserted that Ab Sakhua had made such a translation! The confusion which has arisen is now fully explained. When Professor Kahle showed my edition of the Samaritan-Hebrew Joshua (*ZDMG.* 1908) to the High Priest, Jacob, he correctly replied that this was not the book which had been translated from the Arabic into Hebrew. In a way I was quite innocently responsible for the confusion. For when doubts were first cast on the original character of the Samaritan Hebrew book I asked the Samaritans to furnish me not only with a copy of the Arabic—of which I had one—but also with an exact translation of the text into Samaritan. I received three copies from three different

writers, who alleged themselves to be the authors. Reference will be made to this later on.

In the autographed MS. of Ab Sakhua, then, after giving a short introduction, he writes as follows: "This book has been compiled in olden times from the writings of our forefathers. We do not know who has done it, and a certain Ab'del ben Shalma surnamed the Zakki (i.e. the Meritorious One) translated it into Arabic." The bestowal of such a title is very significant. It will be seen that he was a man of exceptional qualities, for this epithet is conferred by the Samaritans only on the forefathers, the patriarchs, or on the most worthy among the predecessors. Here we have a clear statement concerning the translation of the Arabic from the Hebrew. It is a definite statement from the man who has been the most learned among the Samaritans in modern times, one who had no reason to invent this fact that the book was an ancient compilation, originally written in the Hebrew language and then afterwards translated into Arabic.

The reference is always to Hebrew, not to Samaritan, and this is a point of no small importance; the translator, or he who made the Arabic paraphrase—for it is a paraphrase in many parts—had not used any text written in the real *Samaritan* or Aramaic language. He distinctly says that he has used *Hebrew* sources, that the stories which he translated into Arabic were written in the *Hebrew* language. This is a clear indication as to what kind of material Ab'del ben Shalma utilized for his work. It will be seen that all the texts which have gone to make up this Arabic book of Joshua were exclusively written in Hebrew. Of course the Hebrew is that which was current among the Samaritans. It has characteristic features of its own, as will be seen later on. In these texts were introduced also Biblical phrases. In that respect they have been extremely careful in preserving the original form of the language, whether it was Samaritan, Hebrew, or as in the quotations Biblical Hebrew. In every case one can recognize at once the source of the Arabic

version. Ab Sakhua then writes in the Colophon that he has re-translated it into Hebrew — he uses the word "Tirgamti". This is not to be taken literally. It is necessary to stress this point, for it will throw light upon the system of working, even of the most learned among them, who claim to have "translated" a work from the Arabic into Samaritan. In reality, however, he has done something different. He has simply utilized all the original Hebrew material which he recognized to be the direct sources of the Arabic version, and this he has embodied literally into his work, though he describes it as the translation, without any serious alteration. The difference between the old text and his copy is that he has modernized the words from time to time. It is no less important to notice that of the copies which came from three different men, who claim to be each one an independent author of the translation, two are nothing else but literal copies of this text found in Ab Sakhua's handwriting. Whilst in a third one the same text is used, but slightly altered. They are dated 1908 and early 1909. They were quite oblivious of the fact that I would be able to compare the one with the other and find out that far from being independent translations they were merely more or less copies of the same original. Thus they have facilitated my investigations into the original sources of the Samaritan text.

With the publication of the Asatir a new light has fallen upon the history of the Arabic book of Joshua. If my assumption is correct—and no one has been able yet even to suggest the contrary, still less to prove it—then this work belongs to the second or third century B.C.E. This is, therefore, at least about 1,500 years older than the Arabic translation, and here we find our greatest surprise. It is one of the sources of the book of Joshua. As the Asatir finishes with the death of Moses only some of the incidents previous to the real book of Joshua can be found in it. But they are there, and they are now found in their entirety in the Arabic book of Joshua, and, curiously enough, they are those

chapters in the Asatir which are more Hebrew than Samaritan. I am referring now, in the first place, to the story of Bileam. If we compare the text as found in the Asatir with the version in the Arabic book of Joshua, and still more with the above-mentioned retranslation of it by Ab Sakhua, we will find that they agree even to such an extent that some of the passages which were obscure in the old text are also obscure here, although an attempt has been made to clear them up. It is quite sufficient for our purpose to accept his translation for the basis of this investigation, since he had access to these sources, and, as mentioned before, he was the foremost scholar among them. The description of the sending of the messengers by the king of Moab, the behaviour of Bileam; the acceptance of the invitation; the way in which he was not allowed to curse but to bless; then his flight; his advice to the king of Moab about the daughters of Moab; his encounter with Joshua; the words which he spoke and the manner in which he (Bileam) was killed—in all these the Arabic text and the Asatir agree absolutely, always bearing in mind that the Arabic is a paraphrase.

There can, therefore, be no doubt that the author of the Arabic book of Joshua had before him a compilation in which the story of Bileam was embodied, precisely in the same manner as it is found in the old book of the Asatir or, possibly in some text like it, for the agreement is too close to admit of any other solution than that he utilized this book directly for his purpose. There can be no question of any independent source, nor any doubt as to the immediate source; the texts agree in most points so completely that it would be impossible to imagine the Arabic writer to have had any other source than the Asatir from which to draw this story. It is unnecessary here to translate the text, since it is found in my edition of the Asatir and in the Latin version of Juynboll, as well as in the English translation of Crane.[1]

[1] *The Samaritan Chronicle of the Book of Joshua, the Son of Nun*, translated from the Arabic, with notes, by Oliver Crane. New York: John Alden, 1898.

If we proceed further to the next chapter about the death of Moses we find exactly the same to be the case. All the details found in the Asatir are faithfully repeated in the Arabic book of Joshua. I have referred to this dependence of the Arabic book of Joshua in my edition of the Asatir, page 179. See also pp. 303 ff., where I have been able to show also the transmission of the story through the ages from the third century down to the period of the Arabic translation through those fragments which have been preserved in the Samaritan literature. The story of the death of Moses is found already in Markah's work (second or third century C.E.) and then, later on, in other compilations, until it became part of one of the old Chronicles. This story has been carefully printed by me, from the latter, in the Asatir, pp. 303 ff. This section, which forms an integral part of a complete history of Joshua, thus has its source in the Asatir, with which it closely agrees. It has been utilized for the larger work intended to cover all the incidents in the life of Joshua.

The most important part, however, is the new introductory chapter, the story of Joshua's exploits in the land of Canaan, of which, hitherto, no old Samaritan text has been available. By dint of further investigation and research I have been able at last to obtain from the Samaritans in the first place four leaves, written probably in the eighteenth century, and then at last an ancient MS. of the whole of that chapter, which, in many ways, is of decisive importance. It consists of a quire of eight leaves and judging from a palæographic point of view it may belong to the thirteenth or, latest, the beginning of the fourteenth century, if it be not older. The paper is already yellow with age, the margins greatly frayed, the writing in many places somewhat obliterated, especially on the first and last pages, where, through being rubbed, in one or two places there are little holes in the paper. As to the high antiquity of this document there cannot be the slightest doubt, nor can its importance for

the history of the Arabic book of Joshua, and for that of the old Hebrew book of Joshua, be over-estimated.

Before attempting to fix the date of the Hebrew original it is necessary to establish the fact that it is of a purely Samaritan origin. Leaving the evidence of the language aside for a while it is sufficient to point to vv. 138–43 where we find the reference to Mount Garizim as the Holy Mountain fully set out. We find here already the stereotyped form in which this dogma of the Samaritan faith was here enunciated. It is not only the Holy Mountain, it is the house of God, it is the seat of the angels, the gate of heaven, exactly as we find Mount Garizim described in every prayer, in every hymn, and in every composition of a religious character of the Samaritans. It is the cardinal point of the Samaritan faith, the fundamental difference between them and the Jews. There can, therefore, be no question that this composition is of Samaritan origin. Then the fact that Joshua is here described as the leader of the expedition into Canaan. It tallies with the Samaritan conception of Joshua. He is the national hero who as mentioned before established the sanctuary on that very mountain. In the Bible Joshua is only one of the twelve, it is only afterwards that he and Caleb stand out from the rest. They give a good report whilst the others disturb the peace of the people by an evil report.

Then the evidence from the language. One must bear in mind that Hebrew has never been the national language of the Samaritans except at a very ancient period before Aramaic became their language. Scarcely any ancient document has come down to us written in that special language so characteristic of that Hebrew used by the Samaritans. Even the Ensira, the confession of faith of the Samaritans, containing, as it were, the summary of the faith in its most important details, is only partly Hebrew. It is the language found in the Samaritan Bible in all those passages in which it differs from the Hebrew recensions. They are due to Samaritan interpolations.

Then we have portions in the Asatir and the additional portions in the book of Joshua. This old document agrees in the main with this kind of Hebrew. In the grammatical forms as well as in the syntax it differs from the Biblical Hebrew, but in some details it seems to approximate to the language of the Palmyrene and Nabatean inscriptions. With the exception of the particle kad which occurs only once there is not a single Aramaic word in the whole text. It is not yet time to attempt a philological investigation of these remnants of the ancient Hebrew Samaritan language. But there is a certain uniformity in all of them. Closely connected, therefore, with this question is the date of that Hebrew composition. It owes its origin to the same tendency of completing the narrative of the Bible by stories and legends which seem to find some slight support in the words of the Bible, or are due to the invention of the author. The question which arose in the mind of the readers of the Bible was: how could the spies go through the land of Canaan unharmed and return safely? The author of the story, therefore, represents them as people feigning flight from the Israelites, seeking refuge somewhere in a safe place. At the same time they were preparing the way for the conquest by frightening the inhabitants and telling them wonderous tales of the power and might of the Israelites. The author finds his justification for his romance by the manner in which the story of the two spies going to Jericho is told in Joshua. In Chap. ii, v. 2, we read first, "And it was told the king of Jericho, saying, Behold, there came men in hither to-night of the children of Israel to seek out the land." Compare here v. 9, then vv. 9–11, when they go to Hebron, what Rahab said: "And she said unto the men, I know that the Lord has given you the land, and that your terror is fallen upon us, and that all the inhabitants of the land melt away before you. For we have heard how the Lord dried up the water of the Red Sea before you, when ye came out of Egypt. And as soon as we had heard it our hearts did melt, neither did there remain any more spirit in any

man, because of you: for the Lord your God, he is God in heaven above, and on earth beneath."

The situation is practically the same and the very words used by Rahab are the words here put in the mouth of Joshua in speaking to the various kings. Now Rahab says "we have heard of it". Where did they hear it from? In this Samaritan text we find then that Joshua had really spoken to the kings in that way when he visited them in Canaan. Compare vv. 16, 27, and passim. Intimate connection between these two accounts is beyond doubt, since there are other references to the book of Joshua in this first chapter and especially to the story of Jericho. In v. 82, in describing the trumpets, Joshua says that when they are blown they cause the walls of the town to fall, just as it is told in the book of Joshua. A clear reference to the Biblical book of Joshua. And in another place, v. 81, Joshua is described as the man for whose sake the sun stood still when fighting the Amalakites. The war referred to here is the one in Ex., chap. xvii, vv. 8 ff. But there is no trace of the sun standing still, on the contrary, the sun is going its regular course, it was actually "going down", ibid., v. 12. The Samaritan author has used these details and a large number from the Bible itself, notably Ex. xv, for embellishing the story of Joshua and his companions in Canaan and in describing the power of the Israelites and the miracles wrought for their sake. It is from the Book of Joshua that the author had learned of the large number of Kings inhabiting Canaan. No less than thirty-one are mentioned in Joshua, ch. xii, v. 24. The text is rather free from anachronisms. Joshua is visiting King Og, whilst in the Biblical book of Joshua Rahab mentions him as one who had been killed. The route which the spies are taking coming to Damascus by the route of Edom and then long afterwards going to Ḥamatah is on a par with the other geographical details found in the story. This entitles us to regard this composition as being of very high antiquity. The internal evidence, the philological as well as the legendary, all point to a time when the people

indulged in the composition of such legends and when Hebrew was still used by the Samaritans, being understood, at any rate, by most of the people.

It is not of course easy to fix a definite date, but one would not go far wrong in suggesting the Hellenistic period as the time for this composition. It was just that period in which this kind of literature flourished, and the few remnants found in the Greek language are all more or less couched in the same terms. Nor is Josephus free from such legends skilfully interwoven in his narrative. We have the best parallel in the story of Moses and there are many other legendary motives found scattered throughout his Antiquities.

It is now necessary to indicate the relation in which this old Hebrew text stands to the Arabic translation. It is precisely this chapter which is missing in the Juynboll edition, but it is found in the MS. now in New York, which is also very old, and in my MS., which are comparatively modern copies. The question as to whether it formed part of the original text is, therefore, set at rest, There can, therefore, be no shadow of a doubt that it belonged to the original compilation; nay that it is the first chapter of the whole work. So it is also assumed in the Samaritan translations which have been sent to me from Nablus. In every one of them this portion is found at the beginning of the story. It is, therefore, not at all improbable that the copyist of the Leyden MS. had an incomplete text before him and, whilst he omitted it at the beginning or did not notice its omission, he, on the other hand, added at the end some portions which belonged to the later history of the Samaritans, thus using a slightly different MS. Of these additions no trace is found in the old MSS. and in the translations made of them.

It is remarkable that the Arabic text as well as the so-called translations begin, as it were, almost with the very words of this old document. It shows that, already at the time of the old translations they did not possess more of the text than we possess now, except a little more at the beginning

and something at the end. Of course, so long as those old fragments had remained hidden it was impossible to trace the Samaritan origin, but now that it has come to light one can definitely establish the Hebrew source of the Arabic text. No doubt from the quire which I received the first and last leaves had been detached or lost. The Samaritans always begin their writings, not on the first page but on the second and if this had been torn off it would explain also the disappearance of the last page to which the custos on the preceding page points. In the modern copies, however, there is a short beginning and the story is carried on to the end. To anyone ignorant of the existence of the Hebrew text the story as found in the Arabic would have appeared as a kind of free manipulation of the text of the Bible. Now, however, comparing it with this Hebrew text, we find that the Arabic translator has done nothing but copy and embellish the story just as he found it in the old Hebrew texts; just as he had done with the other sections taken from the Asatir. It is, therefore, perfectly clear that the Arabic version rests exclusively on old Samaritan Hebrew texts, all the portions of which have now come to light one after another, the last, and certainly one of the most important, being this one, recently discovered and now published here for the first time with an English translation and some notes. I have divided the text into verses for easy reference.

As to the authorship of the Arabic book of Joshua we are informed by Ab Sakhua and by others that the author of this translation or rather paraphrase was none other than Abdullah ben Shalma. This man is a very well-known personality. He occupied a responsible and high position in the middle of the fourteenth century in Nablus. When Eleazar, the High Priest, died he entrusted his nephew, the boy Pinḥas, the presumptive heir to the high priesthood, to the care of Abdullah ben Shalma. It happened in the year 1387 when Abdullah was already a very old man. He is surnamed the Zakkai or Zakki, the Meritorious One, an

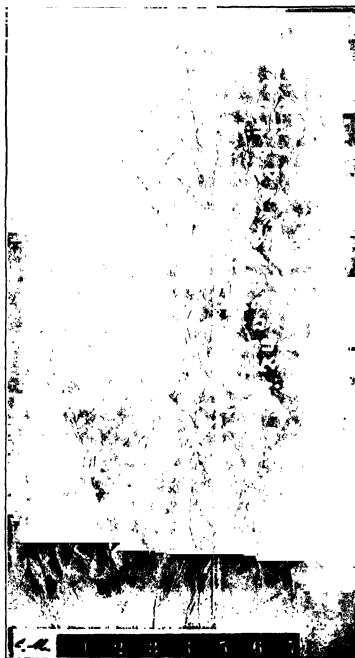
honorific title which is reserved by the Samaritans only for the forefathers or for any of the most prominent and meritorious men of the past. He composed a large number of religious poems which form part of the liturgy of the Samaritans to this very day, and written more or less in Samaritan.

I have now discovered that he is also the author of a famous book, likewise full of Biblical legends, called the Molad Mosheh. In this he describes not only the birth of Moses, but he introduces also a large number of legends. He starts with the Creation, he mentions then most of the patriarchs until he comes to the story of the birth of Moses. This agrees, down to the most minute details, with the same story found in the Asatir, of course embellished with a few more tales and legends, but every detail, down to the name of the wizard —Plti—are found therein. The agreement is so close that any independence of the Asatir is out of the question. It is now plain that in writing our Arabic Joshua he continued, as it were, the story where he had left it off and started with Joshua, leaving out a few minor incidents which happened in the lifetime of Moses, and then continued it down to the end of Joshua, even carrying the story further down to the time of Amram, probably as far as the old Hebrew sources went which he had at his command. In the Molad Mosheh the hero is Moses, the only prophet, and the law-giver of the Samaritans; in this second part of the "chronicle" it is Joshua, the military hero, the great conqueror of Canaan. This fact is, if necessary, another proof to show that the author of these two works had drawn his information exclusively from old Samaritan Hebrew sources. In the prologue to the book of Joshua he distinctly describes his activity in the following terms: "All of this is translated from the Hebrew language into the Arabic language, after the manner of *a rapid translation by word of mouth.*" What he means thereby is, "like a man who tells a tale orally," and this indeed is the character of his two works.

From the above investigation it is now perfectly clear that he took *all* his legends from Hebrew writings. This unquestionably is also the case with the Book of Joshua, which he translated from the Hebrew Samaritan text discovered and published by me.

As for the date of the work it must belong to the early part of the fourteenth century, since Abul Fatḥ, in 1355, refers already to it as one of the books from which he has drawn his information, and in fact follows it as closely as possible, using the very same Arabic text as the one before us.

I am now giving here a translation together with one plate of the original, vs. 73-82*a*.

(1) התפלל ליהוה בעבורינו עד נשוב אליכם בשלום
(2) ויבכו אחרי כן בבכי גדול (?)] (3) וילכו מלפני יום
הששי ויבאו חברון וישבתו את השבת שם ויעמדו
על מערת שדה המכפלה הנמצאים בה אבותינו
(4) ויחל יהושע בן נון יהלל את אבותיו ויבך אתם
(5) ויארך מן הדברים האלה ומן אשר אמרו פניהם
(6) אמר הידעתם כי בניכם יצאו מארץ מצרים ביד
חזקה ויקם להם את דבריו לאבי אברהם ואחרי כן
יצאו ברכוש גדול (7) ודבריו לאבי יצחק הרבה ארבה
את זרעך ככוכבי השמים ודבריו לאבי יעקב יהיה
זרעך כעפר הארץ טוב לכם באשר אחותם מן
אלהיכם (8) וכד יהושע ידבר את הדברים האלה
בפתח מערת המכפלה ואנשים באו אל שני המלכים
(9) והם אחימן ששי ותלמי ילידי ענק (10) ויאמר
אליהם לאמר באו לאנה שנים עשר נשיא (!) כבדים
וישמלותם טובים ובהם איש טוב מכל ובגדיו מיב
מכל והוא נשיאהם (11) וישלח אחימן ויקרא את
יהושע ואת האנשים אשר עמו (12) ובעת בא יהושע

Book of Joshua, Chap. I, vs. 73–82a.

ויעמד לפניו ולפני אחיו (13) ויאמר אליו אחימן הגידה נא לי את הדברים אשר שמעתם על בני ישראל ועל מה הם מבקשים והמקום אשר הם דרשים אליו (14) ויען יהושע את המלך אחימן לאמר דברים גדלים שמענו על בני ישראל ואנחנו נסים מפניהם כי יראים אנחנו מהם (15) ויאמר אליו אחימן לאמר נפשי תאוה לראות הנער אשר הוא הנשיא לכלם אשר יאמר כי הצלחותם בו ואיך חלש את עמלק אשר הוא ראש לכל הגוים (16) ויאמר אליו יהושע בן נון הלוא שמעתם באשר עשה אל פרעה וחילו ופרשיו ומה עשה בים סוף ואיך בקעהו וידו להם דרך וילכו בתוכו ביבשה (17) ופרעה וכל חילו ורכבו ופרשיו טבעו בו (18) הלוא שמעתם כי המים המרים המתקו להם (19) הלוא שמעתם כי המן ירד מן השמים עליהם לחם (20) הלוא שמעתם כי גבור השמים והארץ דברו פה לפה (21) ויאמר אליו המלך לאמר דבר אלי על דמות מחנידם (22) ויען יהושע את המלך בדברים נבהלו מהם (23) ויאמר יצאו ביד חזקה ובימים אחדים הם באים למקום הזה (24) ושמענו כי להם אבות שלשה והם אברהם ויצחק ויעקב יתברכו בהם (25) ונבקע הים אלידם ויעברו את ארץ כנען כי אמרו כי יהוה כרת להם ברית לרשתה (26) והם מבקשים לה נשאים חרב פיפיות ויהוה יוריש את איבידם לפניהם (27) ויהי כאשר שמעו בני ענק את הדבר הזה לבביהם נמסו (28) ואחר כן הלכו יהושע והאנשים אשר עמו יום האחד מן השבוע מבקשים את עיר דמשק דרך ארץ אדום ויבאו העירה (29) ויקרא המלך אשר לעיר לידושע ויעמד לפניו (30) וישלו (!) על בני ישראל (31) ויען יהושע את המלך

לאמר הנה אנחנו נסים מפנידם: ותפל יראתם בלבבינו (32) ויאמר אליו המלך הודיעני נא את כל מנהגם (33) ויען יהושע וידבר דברים נבהלו מהם (34) ויאמר הלכותם בתרועה גדולה עד מאד והם מתגברים בדברידם הלכים כמצות נביאהם אשר שמו משה עליו השלום (35) ולא ישביתו מן התהללות השירות יומם ולילה לאלהיהם (36) ועמוד הענן הלך לפנידם וכל אויבידם נשמדים בין ידידם (37) וכאשר שמעו את הדברים האלה נתזו לבבידם מאד (38) ויסעו לעיר המלך השלישי ביום השני ויאמרו אלידם למה באתם עד אנה (39) ויענו ויאמרו מגפה גדלה אנחנו נפלים בה מאת בני ישראל (40) ויענו ויאמרו אלידם דברו נא לנו עלידם: ועל כל מנהגידם (41) ויען יהושע וידבר לפנידם דברים נבהלו מהם (42) ויאמר אלידם האנשים האלה מסובבין בעז גדול שמעים מן איש הוא האנשיא לדם שמו: משם אלהים: (43) המלאכים כלם ישרתו אתו והוא מן שבט לוי (44) ויסעו לעיר המלך הרביעי (45) וישלח אחרידם המלך וישאלם במנידם בני ישראל (46) ויען יהושע לאמר נסעים(!) אנחנו מפני בני ישראל (47) ויאמר המלך מה שמעת על העם הזה (48) ויען יהושע ויאמר אליו: העם הזה רב מאד והם כחול אשר על שפת הים וכוכבי השמים (49) והם מסובבין בכבודים והם מן דמעי הגרים: מאכלם המן והשלוי (50) מן יצא לקראתם יחלשו אתו (51) ומן ירדף אחרידם אבד ומן ינוס מפנידם ימלט (52) ומן ישב לפנידם יתנחם (53) ויסעו משם ויבאו לעיר המלך החמישי ביום הרביעי מן השבוע (54) וישאלם גם זה המלך במלכים אשר זכרנו (55) ויאמר לו יהושע העם הזה יצאו מארץ מצרים והיתה בעבודם חרבה:

הדם הזה דרך להם למענם (56) משה התפלל ליהוה בעבורם : ויהוה ילחם להם והם יחרשון (57) וטוב לכם תברחו מהם כי הם מבקשים יירשו ארצכם (58) ויסעו לעיר המלך הששי והוא עג בן ענק (59) וישמע עג כי באו לעירו (60) וישלח ויקרא להם (61) וישאלם במגדידם (62) ויענו אתו נסעים (!) אנחנו מפני בני ישראל (63) ויאמר אליהם איך תמונת מחנידם (64) ויען יהושע בן נון ויאמר אליו לאמר פחדם ומראם על כל הגוים ועל כל הערים והם חלושים לכל העמים ולכל הגוים משה הנשיא להם כי הוא נביא אליהם (65) ואתם כתובים להם לעבדים מקרב יבאו עליכם (66) ועמהם נער טוב והוא אשר הכה את עמלק ואת עמו (67) ויסעו לעיר המלך השביעי ביום הששי (68) וישאלם המלך על בני ישראל ויאמר להם שמחים הם בארץ כנען להכותם את כל יושביה : ידרשו מן יהוה (69) וישמע אליהם אלהים (70) זאת הארץ להם נחלה (71) ואתם להם לעבדים : ויהוה אלהיהם יכול על כל דבר (72) ונביאהם מגיע לכל מדרשיו : וישבתו שם (73) ויסעו ביום האחד לעיר המלך השמיני (74) ויאמר אליהם המלך מי אתם ומאין באתם : ומה הערים אשר אתם הלכים אליהם (75) ויאמר המלך יהושע אנחנו לא נדע את הערים אשר נדרשם ולא הערים אשר נברח אליהם מפני בני ישראל והנה אנחנו נבוכים בדברינו (76) ויאמר להם המלך מה ימצא עמכם מן מגידם (77) ויען יהושע בן נון ויאמר שמענו כי ימצא בינידם איש יכה את הים במטהו ידי דרך יבשה (78) יכה את הסלע במטהו יצא מים (79) יקרא לפני אלהיו ויעננו בקול (80) ירים את ידו למעלה יחלש את אויביו (81) ויש עמם נער

עמדת לו השמש עד אבד את עמלק (82) ויש
עמהם שתי חצצרות יתקעו בהם ידרסו חומות הערים
לפנידם (83) כאשר שמע המלך את הדברים האלה
מחץ מתני קמיו: ולא יכל לקום (84) ויצאו מפניו
וילכו מאתו בשלום ויבאו לעיר המלך השלישי (!)
(85) ויקרא אלידם המלך ויאמר הגידו נא לי על
בני ישראל (86) ויען יהושע ויאמר אליו הנשיא אשר
להם חרב את מצרים (87) הלך העולם (?) ברברו: זרע
ישראל לא יספר מרב (88) אלהים אל רחום וחנן
טל השמים מאכלם ובמחשבותידם מדרשם יטחו (!)
עצמכם יכתו עצמותיכם (89) ויסעו משם ויבאו לעיר
המלך העשירי (90) וישאל את יהושע על מגיד בני
ישראל (91) ויאמר אליו יהושע אלידם נכבד מכה
את כל אויבידם: יכלותו גדלה משה נבידם (92) בקע
את הים בעבורם ויאבדו כל מצרים בתוכו: ישראל
בשם סגיל (?) (93) וילכו ויבאו לעיר המלך אחד עשר
(94) ויאמר המלך יהושע אל זה המלך מוכחים אנחנו
לכם נוסו מפני בני ישראל ובקשו לנפשכם שלם
(95) כי כמעט הם באים עליכם ואתם ראיתם את
אשר עשו למלכים אשר לפניכם (96) ויסעו משם
ויבאו לעיר המלך שנים עשר (97) ויאמר יהושע
כמעט יבאו לארצכם ויירשו את כל יושביה וישבו
את נשיכם ואת כל בנותיכם (98) וילכו ויבאו לעיר
המלך שלשה עשר: ביום הששי וישבתו את השבת
השלי״ שם (99) ויהושע בן נון יאמר אלידם: משה
אשר על פיו ישק כל עם ישראל הוא בעל השם
הגדול אשר בתפלותו ישבר את כל איביו (100) אין
לכם כום מברח יום מאבדכם קרוב (101) וילכו ויבאו
לעיר המלך ארבעה עשר (102) וידבר אלידם יהושע
לאמר: בני ישראל מסובבים בשלטן גדול יהוה

בעדם ישמיד לפניהם את איביהם מלכי הארץ לפניהם
ולהם נביא גדול (103) כפירות החטאות בידיהם אין
בידיכם (104) וילכו ויבאו לעיר המלך חמשה עשר:
ביום השני (105) וידבר אליהם יהושע לאמר מעבד
הבעלים תועבה היא להם ישנאו את כל אלהי
הגבר: הגבור במלחמה עמם: והוא הנלחם להם
והוא ימית את כל איביהם (106) וילכו ויבאו לעיר
המלך ששה עשר (107) אחל יהושע יאמר שם:
עליונים על כל הגוים הם הענן יכסיהם (108) עבדי
ידוה נקרא שמם: והם בעלי ארץ כנען ואתם אכתב (!)
עליכם תעבדו להם (109) וילכו ויבאו לעיר המלך
שבע עשר: ביום הרביעי (110) וישאל המלך את
יהושע ויען ויאמר כבדה גדלה לישראל אשר
יצא מארץ מצרים במופתים גדלים (111) פתח להם
משה את הים ויסגרהו: פרעה מת בו בגלו: עמוד
הענן הלך לפניו לשרתו (112) וילכו ויבאו לעיר
המלך שמנה עשר (113) וישאל ויענו יהושע ויאמר
כל הצדיקים יאספו להם (114) בעל הצום עמד בינהם
יתפלל בעדם: ואין עשיר מן תפלותו (115) והם יסירו
את מקורכם (!) (116) וילכו ויבאו לעיר המלך תשע
עשר: ביום הששי וישבתו את השבת הרביעי שם
(117) ויהושע ידבר אליהם: המקדש יש בינם ואדון
הנביאים והשם הקדוש בינם (118) מכשף וקסם קסמים
לא ימצא בהם והם שמרים לעשרה המצות ומשמעם
יכו את כל הגוים ויהרגו כל הרשעים (119) אין לכם
תקומה פניהם (120) וילכו ויבאו לעיר המלך העשרים
ביום האחד (121) ויהושע יען אתם על כל שיאלם
כדברים האלה (122) ויאמר אליהם ימצא נערים בבני
ישראל לא ימנו במספר (123) נגישים למלחמה ריקים
מכל חטא: והם גדולים מכל הגוים קצפם חזק

עליכם: לא יהיה עד יתנחלו ארצכם (124) וילכו ויבאו
לעיר חמתה (125) ויאמר מלך חמתה אל יהושע בן
נון ראה אל תבנית צבאי ואל כלי מלחמתי (126) ויען
יהושע: התוכל באלה לקראת את בני ישראל
(127) ויאמר לו מלך חמתה הלוא אוכל על כן ויאמר
לא (128) ויאמר המלך הגידה נא לי איך ילחמו
(129) ויאמר לו יהושע: יתקעו שלשה פעמים בשתי
חצצרות התרועה וינסו כל איביהם מפניהם (130) והנה
המלאכים סביבתיהם והשם ברוך הוא שכן בתוכם
והוא הנלחם להם באיביהם (131) מעשיהם תבניתם
במלחמה יכו יומם ולילה לא ישבתו (132) וגם
במלחמותם תמיד יהללו לאלהיהם ולא ישבתו
(133) וכאשר שמעו הגוים וכל המלכים מן יהושע את
הדברים האלה וירגזו ויאחזמו רעד וגם נמגו ונפלת
עליהם אימה ופחד (134) ויהושע בן נון וכלב בן יפנה
שמחים מפחד יושבי הארץ והאימה אשר נפלת עליהם
(135) אך עשרת האנשים לא היו בדמותם רק חשבו
חשבן רע: כי הרע שכן בנצרם (136) ויסעו מן חמתה
ביום הרביעי בהיות הבקר (137) והם שמחים הלב:
שלשת ימים הלכו וישבתו את יום השבת החמישי
בדרך (138) וילכו דרך חמשה ימים עד באו הרגריזים
בית אל ביום הששי (139) וישבתו את יום השבת
הששי עליו (140) וירבו מן השירות שם לאלהיהם
(141) ויאמר יהושע לחבריו בגלל זה המקום הקדוש
אמר השם ברוך הוא לאבינו אברהם: לך לך מארצך
וממולדתך ובעבורו כרת עמו ברית וגם עם בניו יצחק
ויעקב הברית אשר נשבע להם כי לזרעם יתן את
המקום הזה לעבדו עליו (142) אשרינו כי השיגנו אל
המקום אשר בחרו יהוה: והוא מקום קדוש מכל
הארץ: מקום בית יהוה: ומכן מלאכי יהוה והוא

שער השמים (143) וילכו מן התריזים ביום השליש
ויבאו עד חברון וילינו שם בלילה ההיא (144) ויהושע
בן נון יהלל את אבותיו כל הלילה עד בקר
(145) ואחר כן עברו את נחל אשכול וימצאו בני
ענק באבל כבד עד מאד (146) ויהי כאשר ראו אתם
ישבי העיר ויאמרו אלה האנשים הנסים (147) ויקמו
יהושע וכלב ויקחו מפרי הארץ וילכו אל משה
ואהרן אל מדבר פראן והם בשמח רב וטוב לבב
(148) וישאלם משה על הארץ אשר עברו בו (149) ויגד
יהושע למשה ויאמר לו לאמר הארץ אשר עברנו בה
ארץ זבת חלב ודבש טובה הארץ מאד (150) אך
עשרת האנשים עשו דבה בין עם ישראל
(151) ויסעו בני ישראל ממדבר פראן ויחנו בלבונה
ביום האחד (152) ויהי משה בכל חנות יצוה איש
מן העם יגש ויאסר את עגלות הצדיק יוסף ויטבל
במים ואחר כן יבא לפני ארון הנביאים משה
וישתחוי ליהוה ומשה עליו השלם יברכו (153) ויהי
בערב וירחץ את ידיו ואת רגליו מן הכיור ויבא
לבין הכרובים לפני ארון העדות יעשה את רצונו
(154) ויהיו החכמים והאנשיאים והשופטים יעמדו
לשרתו * * *

TRANSLATION

(page 1) (1) Pray to God for our sakes, so that we may return unto you in peace. (2) They wept after that with a loud weeping (3) and they went away from him on the sixth day (Friday), and they came to Hebron, and they kept the Sabbath there, and they stopped at the cave of the field Makhphelah, where our forefathers are. (4) And Joshua the son of Nun began to praise his forefathers, and he wept with them, (5) and he continued at great length in these things, and in what he spoke before them he said. (6) "Do you

know that your children have come out of Egypt with a mighty hand and He fulfilled unto them the word which He spoke to my father[1] Abraham, "And afterwards they will go out with great wealth." (7) And His words to my father Isaac, "I will surely multiply thy seeds like the stars of heaven." And His words to my father Jacob, "And thy seed shall be like the dust of the earth." Happy are ye that your possession is from God." (8) And whilst Joshua was speaking these words at the gate of the cave of Makhphelah, men came from the two[2] kings (9) and these were Aḥiman, Sheshai, and Talmai, (page 2) the children of Anaḳ. (10) And they said to them,[3] "Twelve princes have come hither: honourable, and they are beautifully dressed, and among them one more goodly than the others. His clothes are superior to those of the others, and he is their leader." (11) Then Aḥiman sent and he called Joshua and the men that were with him, (12) and when Joshua came, he stood before him and his brothers: (13) and Aḥiman said unto him, "Tell us of the things you have heard about the Children of Israel, and what they are seeking, and of the place which they desire to obtain?" (14) And Joshua answered the king Aḥiman, saying "We have heard of great things about the Children of Israel, and we are fleeing from before them, for we are afraid of them." (15) Aḥiman said unto him, "My soul wishes to see the lad who is the ruler over them all, of whom it is said that their success depends on him; and how he weakened Amalek who is the head of all the nations." (16) (page 3) And Joshua the son of Nun said unto him, "Have you not heard what he has done to Pharaoh and his army and his riders, and what he did at the Sea of Reeds, and how he cleft it; and he made unto them a road and they walked through it on dry land, (17) and Pharaoh and his army and

[1] Probably "our father," but abbreviated, without a sign of abbreviation, but no other word is abbreviated in this document. And so the next two.

[2] Text is corrupt, read three.

[3] In the text "he said to them". Scribe's mistake.

his riders and his chariots all were sunk therein ? (18) Have you not heard that the bitter waters were made sweet for them ? (19) Have you not heard that the manna came down from heaven for them ? (20) Have you not heard that the Mighty One of the heaven and the earth spake with him mouth to mouth ? " (21) And the king said unto him, " Tell me about the form of their camps." (22) And Joshua answered the king with words which confounded them (amazed them). (23) He said, " They went forth with a mighty hand, and within a few days they will reach this place. (24) And we have heard that they have three forefathers, these are Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and they are blessed by them. (25) And the sea was cleft for them, and they will pass over to the land of Canaan, for they say that the Lord has made a covenant with them to cause them to inherit it. (26) And they are seeking it (page 4) and they carry double-edged swords, and the Lord will drive their enemies before them." (27) And when the children of Anaḳ heard these words their hearts melted away, (28) and after that Joshua and his men went away, on the first day of the week (Sunday) going towards the town of Daneshek, by way of the land of Edom, and they came to that town ; (29) and the king of the town called for Joshua, and he stood before him. (30) And he asked him concerning the Children of Israel. (31) And Joshua answered the king, saying, " Behold, we are fleeing from before them : and the fear of them has fallen into our hearts." (32) And the king said to him, " Tell me all their manners (conduct)." (33) And Joshua answered and spoke words which confounded (amazed) them. (34) And he said, " They walk with great triumphant shouts, and they speak very proudly. They go according to the command of their prophet Moses, upon whom be peace.[1] (35) And they never cease praising and singing hymns day and night to their

[1] Rather a quaint remark by the Scribe, who evidently had forgotten that Moses was alive then, and he being accustomed to always use this phrase, put it in.

God. (36) And the pillar (page 5) of cloud goes before them, and all their enemies are destroyed by their hand." (37) And when they heard these words their hearts greatly trembled. (38) And then they went on to the town of the third king on the third day. And they said unto them, "Why did you come hither?" (39) And they answered and said "We have fallen into a great plague (great slaughter) through the Children of Israel." (40) And they said unto them "Speak unto us about them, of all their ways (conduct) how they are carrying on." (41) And Joshua answered and spoke unto them words at which they were confounded (amazed). (42) And he said unto them, "These people carry themselves with great might; they hearken to a man who is their prince (ruler). His name is (Moses) of the name of God (43) and all the angels [1] minister unto him; and he is of the tribe of Levi." (44) And they journeyed to the town of the fourth king. (45) And the king sent for them and asked them as to what they could tell concerning the Children of Israel. (46) And Joshua answered and said, "We are fleeing from the Children of Israel." (page 6) (47) And the king said, "What have you heard concerning this people." (48) And Joshua answered and said to him, "This people is very numerous, and they are like as the sand of the shores of the sea and the stars of heaven. (49) And they carry themselves with honour. And they are the most perfect essence among the nations. Their food is the manna and the quails. (50) And whoever goes out against them, they weaken him (vanquish). And whoever pursues them is destroyed, but whoever flees from them is saved. (52) And whoever sits (quietly) before them, is shown pity." (53) And they went from there and came to the town of the fifth king on the fourth day of the week. (54) And this king asked them in the same manner as the kings whom we have mentioned. (55) And Joshua said

[1] This passage is evidently corrupt. For mishem elohim read perhaps Mosheh (ish-ha) elohim, "Moses, the man of God." The corruption obtains also in MS. Ab-Sakhua.

unto him, "This people has come out of Egypt, and many things have happened for their sake, and the sea was a road unto them, (56) and Moses prayed unto God for them. And God fights for them, and they keep quiet. (57) It is better for you that you should flee from them, for they are seeking to possess your land." (58) And they went to the town of the sixth king and he was Og (page 7) the son of Anak (i.e. giant). (59) When Og heard that they had come to his town, (60) he sent for them and called them, (61) and he asked them what they had to tell. (62) And they answered him "We are fleeing from the Children of Israel." (63) And he asked them, "What is the form of their camp?" (64) And Joshua the son of Nun answered and said unto him, "The fear of them and the trembling before them is upon all the nations and all the cities, and they weaken (defeat) all the nations and all the people. Moses is their prince, for he is their prophet, (65) and you are already written down as slaves for them. They will soon come upon you. (66) And with them is a goodly youth, and he it was who smote Amalek and his people." (67) And they went on to the town of the seventh king on the sixth day. (68) And the king asked them concerning the Children of Israel, and he (Joshua) said unto them (unto him) "They rejoice in the land of Canaan and in the prospect of their smiting all its inhabitants. (69) They pray (ask of) the Lord, and God hearkens unto them. (70) And this land is an inheritance unto them, (71) and ye will be slaves unto them. And the Lord their God is all-powerful (lit. He has the power over everything). (72) And as for their prophet, God fulfills all his wishes." And then they kept (page 8) the Sabbath there. (73) [1] And on the first day they went to the town of the eighth king. (74) And the king said unto them, "Who are you and whence do you come, and which are the towns to which you are going?" And the king Joshua [2] said, "We

[1] Photograph from here to v. 82a Jos., ch. 6.

[2] This is the way in which Joshua is always spoken of in the Samaritan Book of Joshua, and so in the Arabic text.

do not know the towns which we are seeking, nor the towns whither we are fleeing from before the Children of Israel, and we are rather confused in our words (or, we have lost our aim)." (76) And the king said "What is there found among you which you could tell us about them." (77) And Joshua the son of Nun replied, "We have heard that there was a man to be found among them who strikes the sea with his rod, and it becomes a dry path. (78) He strikes the rock with his rod, and water comes out. (79) He calls unto his God and He answers him with a loud voice. (80) He lifts up his hands on high, and he weakens (defeats) his enemies. (81) And there is among them a youth, and the sun stood still for him until he destroyed Amalek.[1] (82) And they have two (page 9) trumpets, and when they blow (83) them they overthrow the walls of the cities in front of them."[2] (84) When the king heard these words he was stricken in the loins where he stood, and (85) he could not rise. Then they went away from him in peace and came to the town of the ninth king (in the MS., by mistake, "the third"). The king called them and said to them, "Tell me about the Children of Israel." (86) And Joshua answered and said unto him, "Their prince destroyed Egypt. (87) The world[3] goes on by his word. The seed of Israel cannot be counted for its multitude. (88) God is a God of mercy and loving-kindness. The dew of heaven is their food. It is their thought to kill you "(or to grind your bones down).[4] (89) And they went away thence and came to the town of the tenth king. (90) And he asked Joshua to report to him about the Children of Israel. (91) And Joshua

[1] Transference of the well-known incident in Joshua to the war against Amalek, where, on the contrary, the sun is described as veering towards the south.

[2] Evidently referring to Jericho.

[3] This may be a corruption from "haam", the "people", for the word 'Olam, with the meaning of the "world", is not found in the Pentateuch. In the Arabic it is also Olom "world". Evident proof that the translation has been made from a text like this, if not the very same.

A very extraordinary passage, which reminds one of Ezekiel the poet.

[4] The unintelligible yitḥawu (!) should be read yitḥanu (grind).

said unto him, "They consider it an honour to smite all their enemies. Their power (page 10) is great. (92) Moses their prophet cleft the sea for their sakes, and the whole of Egypt was lost therein, and Israel got the name of 'The selected'."[1] (93) And they left and came to the town of the eleventh king. (94) And the king Joshua said unto this king, "We warn you, flee before the Children of Israel, and seek peace unto yourselves (95) for within a short time they will come upon you, and you see what they have done to the kings before you." (96) And they left and came to the town of the twelfth king.[2] (97) And Joshua said, "They are coming soon to your country, and they will dispossess all its inhabitants, and they will take prisoners your women and your daughters." (98) And they went away and came to the town of the thirteenth king on the sixth day, and they kept the third Sabbath there. (99) And Joshua the son of Nun said unto them, "Moses by whom is fed the whole people of Israel (page 11) is the master of the great name,[3] who by his prayer breaks to pieces all his enemies. (100) Nothing else is left for you but to flee away. The day of your destruction is nigh." (101) And they went away and came to the town of the fourteenth king. (102) And Joshua spoke unto them saying, "The Children of Israel carry themselves with great rule (power). God is their help. He annihilates before them their enemies, even the kings of the nations before them. And they have a great prophet, (103) and they have in their hands the atonement of sins, which are not in your hands." (104) And they went away and came to the town of the fifteenth king on the second day. (105) And Joshua spoke unto them as follows, "The worship of idols is an abomination unto them. They hate all the strange gods. The mighty in War is with them, and He it is fights for them

[1] Corrupt. Perhaps a word like niḳra' has dropped out.

[2] Anachronystic.

[3] A very remarkable statement. Moses is here the master of the great mysterious, the wonder-working Name of God.

and He it is kills all their foemen. (106) And they went and came to the town of the sixteenth king. (107) And Joshua began (page 12) and he said there, "High above all the other nations are they. The cloud covers them. (108) Their name is called, 'The servants of the Lord.' They are the masters of the land of Canaan and as far as you are concerned it is written down against you that you be slaves to them." (109) And they went away and came to the town of the seventeenth king on the fourth day. (110) And the king asked Joshua and he answered and said, "Israel has great honour, for he came out of Egypt with great wonders. (111) Moses opened unto them the sea, and he closed it, Pharaoh died therein; in the wave thereof the pillar of cloud goes before him (i.e. Israel) to serve him." (112) And they went and came to the town of the eighteenth king, (113) and he asked, and Joshua answered him and said, "All the righteous men have gathered themselves unto (114) them, the 'master of the fast',[1] stands among them, prays for them. There is no richer prayer than his. (115) And they will remove your foundations."[2] (116) And they went away and came to the town of the nineteenth king on the sixth day (page 13). And they kept there the fourth Sabbath. (117) And Joshua spoke to them, "The sanctuary is among them, and the master of the prophets, and the Holy Name is among them. (118) A wizard and a sorcerer is not to be found among them, and they observe the Ten Commandments,[3] and by their report alone they smite all the nations and kill all the wicked ones. (119) Ye shall have no upstanding against them." (120) And they went away and came to the town of the twentieth king on the first day. (121) And Joshua answered them to all their questions, with words like these, (122) And he said unto them, "There are among the Children of Israel

[1] Moses who *fasted* 40 days on Mount Sinai.

[2] The reading of this word is doubtful. Perhaps for mekor°chem read mekom°chem in the sense "your high-places".

[3] A very remarkable passage. It is here for the first time one finds instead of the "10 words" the "10 commandments".

youths without number, (123) who go to war pure of all sin, and they are mightier than all the nations. Their wrath is against you. They will not rest until they inherit your land. (124) And they went away and came to the town Ḥamatah. (125) And the king of Ḥamatah said to Joshua the son of Nun, "Behold the form of my army, and my weapons of war." (126) And Joshua answered, "Wilt thou be capable with (weapons like) these to go against the Children of Israel?" (127) And the king of Ḥamatah said to him, "Shall I not (page 14) be able to succeed in this manner?" And he said unto him (probably a mistake of the scribe, לו instead of לא, which means "No").[1] (128) And the king said, "Tell me, I pray, how do they wage war?" (129) Joshua said unto him, "They blow three times with the two trumpets of loud sounding and their enemies all flee from before them. *(130) And know that the angels are surrounding* them, and the Name (God), blessed be He, dwells in their midst, and He it is who fights for them against their enemies. (131) Their manner in war is that they smite day and night, and never cease. (132) And even during their fights they are continually praising God, and never cease."

(133) And when all the nations and kings heard from Joshua these things then they quaked and trembling seized hold on them, and also they melted away. And there fell upon them fear and terror. (134) And Joshua the son of Nun and Kaleb the son of Jefuneh were rejoicing at the terror of the inhabitants of the lands, and at the fear that had fallen upon them. (135) But the ten men were not like unto them. They thought evil, for evil dwelt in their nature. (136) And they went away from Ḥamatah on the fourth day at daybreak. (137) And they were joyful of heart (page 15). They walked on for three days, and they rested on the fifth Sabbath on the way. (138) And then they went another five days' journey, until they came to Mount Garizim Beth-El on the sixth day, (139) and they kept

[1] Or a few words have dropped out here and so in the Arabic.

the sixth Sabbath thereon, (140) and they sung many hymns there to their God. (141) And Joshua said to his companions, "Because of this holy place, the Name (God), blessed be He, said unto our father Abraham, 'Get thee away from thy land and from thy birth-place' and for its sake He made with him a Covenant, and also with his sons Isaac and Jacob, even that covenant which he swore unto them, that He would give to their seed this place to worship (serve) Him there. (142) Blessed are we that we have reached the place which the Lord hath chosen, the most holy place of the whole earth, the place of the house of God, and the seat of the angels of God. It is the gate of heaven." (143) And on the third day they went from the Mount of Garizim, and came to the town of Hebron, and they spent that night there. (144) And Joshua son of Nun sang the praises of his forefathers the whole night until the morning. (145) And after that they forded the river Eshkol, and they found the children of Anak in great mourning (page 16). (146) And when the inhabitants of the town saw them they said, "These are the men who fled away." (147) And Joshua and Kaleb rose up and took of the fruit of the land, and they went to Moses and Aaron in the desert of Parān. And they were in great rejoicing and with a happy heart. (148) And Moses asked them concerning the land through which they had gone. (149) And Joshua reported to Moses, and he said to him as follows: "The land through which we passed is a land flowing with milk and honey, (150) the land is exceeding good, but the ten men spread an evil report among the people of Israel. (151) And the Children of Israel went from the desert of Parān, and camped in Libnah on the first day. (152) And whenever they came to encamp then Moses would command a man from the people to go and tie up the wagons of Joseph the pious; and he washed himself in water, and he would come before the master of the prophets, Moses, and he would prostrate himself before God, and Moses, upon whom be peace (!), would bless him (153) And in the evening he would wash his hands and feet

from the basin, and he would come to the cherubim before the Ark of the Testimony, [to pray that] God may show him His favour and the pages, the princes, and the judges would stand there to serve him, until . . .

Thus far the MS.

In the Arabic text and in Ab Sakhua's the story finishes as follows :—

" And the sages and the judges stood there ready to minister to him until he came out from the Sanctuary, then they kissed his hands and feet. In the same way also acted the priests and the Levites. And his entry into the Sanctuary was from the East, whilst Aaron and his sons, and the wagon of Joseph, the righteous one, was in the West. And the wagon upon which was lying the coffin of the righteous Joseph used to go before the Ark of Testimony. And know that he whom God wishes to honour no one can contemn. Joseph was great in his lifetime and great also after his death."

Thus the story ends.

read *A-lu-i-lum mar Šar-gīn-na išruk*. I first read the name of Alu-ilum's father, *Šar-rin-na*, but it is entirely possible that the sign *NIGIN* had also the value *gin*, and that this is Sargon of Agade. The two sons of Sargon who came to the throne were Rimush and Maništišsu.[1] In line 7, *SAG-TUK-DU* has certainly the same sense as the late ideogram *PA-KAB-DU* written in the early period *PA-TUK-DU*. See also CT. 5, 2. No. 3, ii, 3; OBI. 109, 4.

Plate VII shows a plan of Watelin's stratifications at the end of the seventh season, made by Mr. T. K. Penniman,

anthropologist to the Expedition, who took charge of the human remains excavated in the tombs last year. The figures indicate *metres*, and opposite each important stratum he has given the pottery types and in the great tomb area he has added types of stone and copper vessels, and a few copper implements. All our reckonings are taken above or below modern plain level. The thick red stratum is the temenos platform, and in it are found pre-Sargonic tablets of the same script as those found at Lagash in the time of Entemena and Lugalanda, that is of the period *circa* 2800–2700. In and just above this temenos platform, on which the two stage towers probably stand, the same pottery types occur as in

[1] *Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts*, ii, 17.

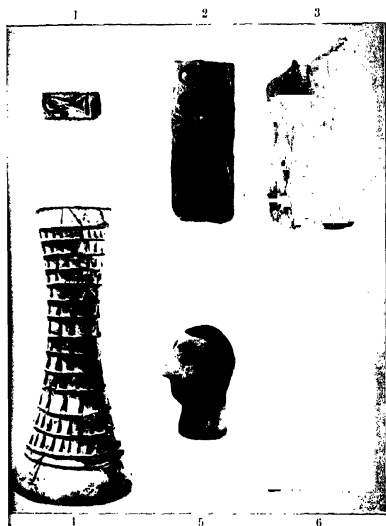
the cemetery of the old palace. See E. Mackay, " Report on the Excavation of the ' A ' Cemetery at Kish," vol. i, No. 1, of Field Museum Anthropology, *Memoirs* (1925), and vol. i, No. 2, *A Sumerian Palace and the "A" Cemetery* (1929). It is probable that the complete reconstruction of the temple area after the Flood was carried out during the second or third dynasties of Kish, about 3000 B.C.; for the red stratum is surely earlier than the graves found in it.[1] Below the red stratum, running right through the mound and out into the plain, lies a stratum of fine sand precipitated by a great deluge which covered the entire area, and long enough to precipitate a layer uniformly 1½ feet thick. In this Flood stratum rows of small fresh-water fish, embedded evenly and horizontally in the sand, are found in various places, pottery sherds and fresh-water mussels are also found, settled in undisturbed position with the precipitated sediment of the waters which lay over the city. The photograph in *Illustrated London News*, ibid., p. 207, shows some rooms of a building at water level, and the Flood stratum crossing the excavation, evenly and clearly separated from the debris above and below it. The camera reveals this stratum only in the portion directly in focus. Its position is marked by the letter *X*. Plate VIII, taken from another part of the wide excavation, shows the same stratum, and it is found continuously at this level wherever the excavation was extended at this depth again this winter (1929–30).

The Flood stratum is invariably unpierced. Whatever is found below it belongs to the pre-diluvian period. It is impossible to say whether the inhabitants returned immediately to their destroyed capital and carried out the great plan of restoration, marked by the thick temenos platform laid right over it, or whether some time elapsed. One view is that the cities of the Euphrates valley were inundated during the reign of a powerful dynasty, and that

[1] I am here using my reduced date for the second dynasty, as published in Langdon-Fotheringham, *Venus Tablets of Ammizaduga*, 85.

Kish was immediately rebuilt. This does not explain the fact that, in the greatest period of Sumerian culture found at Kish, the thick stratum of the brick tombs extending without interruption to water level, through 18 feet of debris contains pottery types almost totally different from those above the Flood stratum. Here the spouted pot is prolific, both in clay and copper, whereas above the Flood stratum it disappears, but persists sporadically in the palace cemetery, contemporaneous with the graves in the red stratum. The great jar with wide false handle, on which is depicted the bust of the mother goddess Ninḫursag is never found below the Flood.

Watelin has excavated over 200 tombs and graves below the Flood, and consequently the material is ample for making a categorical statement. The same thing is true of the champagne cup type of vase, which I take to be plates for eating. They are not found at all below the Flood, whereas they are numerous and characteristic above it and in the palace. On the contrary, the whole period of the great tombs to water level is characterized by the extraordinary object, Plate IX, 4, and in Mr. Penniman's drawing. These are invariably large objects and moulded from a single piece of clay. The average height is 2½ feet, diameter at the base 1 to 1½ feet. They recede in a slight curve toward the top where they again spread slightly, leaving a diameter at the open top about two-thirds that of the base. They are hollow from top to bottom, and the bottom is also open. Ridges run round the object in bands of various distances from each other, and there are rows of triangular holes, usually not piercing the texture entirely. So far as I can see, these triangular holes are made to lighten the weight, but enough of them do penetrate the texture to suggest that they are censers. If they are the *niknaḳḳu* of Babylonian rituals, it is curious that none have been found from the later periods ; for they were in common use, according to the texts, right down to the Persian period.

VIEW OF ONE PART OF THE EXCAVATIONS SHOWING THE FLOOD STRATUM.

Figs. 1 and 2. Early Sumerian Seal. Fig. 3. Tablet 3 metres below Flood Stratum. Fig. 4. Censer (?) from below Flood Stratum. Fig. 5. Painted Sumerian Head. Fig. 6. Early Sumerian Seal.

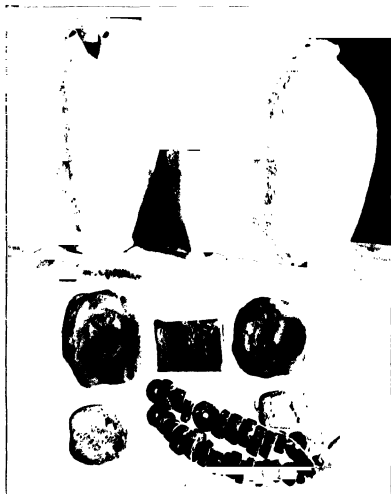
1

2

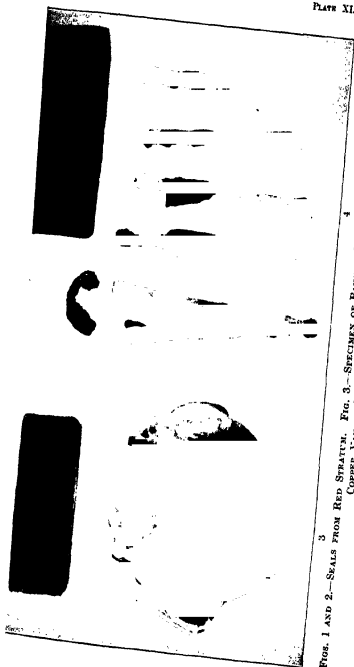
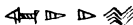
FIG. 1. POTTERY FROM LOWEST SUMERIAN LEVELS.
FIG. 2. SEALS AND BEADS FROM LOWEST SUMERIAN LEVELS.

FIGS. 1 AND 2.—SEALS FROM RED STRATUM. FIG. 3.—SPECIMEN OF PAINTED WARE, BELOW WATER LEVEL. FIG. 4.—COPPER VANITY CASE FROM TOP OF RED STRATUM.

Plate X shows a one- and a two-spouted pot. The latter is confined to tombs very deep in this stratum. The one shown here was recovered at the palace by a shaft sunk by Watelin to a depth of two metres below plain level. In the centre of this group is seen a new type of vase, always crudely made, found in great quantities in a thin stratum just above water level. This marks a period between the great age of polychrome ware below water level and the long period of fine copper work known as the "tomb stratum" which is under discussion. The only painted ware found above water level is plain red, found also in the stratum marked by the prolific conical cups with small feet.

Plate XI, 1, shows the only copper vanity case, among many found in the red stratum and in graves of the palace, whose implements could be extracted. These are identical in type with those found in the tombs at Ur, and never occur below the Flood. Totally different also are the designs on the roll seals found above and below the Flood stratum. Plate XI, 2, is a seal from the red stratum, a so-called scene of Gilgamish and Enkidu in combat with a lion, Gilgamish protecting a stag and a bull, while Enkidu attacks the lion. It bears an Accadian name, *I-lum-magir(ir)*, if that be the correct reading. The text is unusual:

The third sign is unlike anything known in Sumerian epigraphy and is certainly meant to be read directly from the seal. If so, the text is:—

Here the last sign *lum* is reversed, and the reading is *Gamir(ir)-i-lum*. The first sign seems to be a curiously written *KA*. The second alternative makes an impossible Accadian name and *Ilumagir* is apparently the only choice. But *KA* does not have the value *magāru*. On the other hand

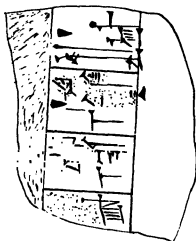
a sign *KA* + *ŠU* + *ŠA-mil* has the meaning *gimil*.[1] A sign *KA* + *KAR*,[2] has the value *puzru* "secret", and so has also the simple form *KA*.[3] The seal, Plate XI, 1, was also found in the red stratum and in the so-called "gold burial", because of the gold band on the head of the woman, whose burial accoutrements were particularly costly. Plate IX, 6, shows a seal typical of the tomb stratum, found three metres below plain level. The animal file *motif* is common to the glyptique of the early Sumerian period. Plate X shows two primitive stone seals with their impressions, right and left of the photograph. These are really press seals and carry, as usual with specimens of this type, conventional and meaningless groups of dots and figures, designed solely to give individuality to the design. These were found at water level. In the centre is a roll seal made of bitumen, and covered with a thin sheath of copper. It carries a meaningless rectangle divided into three compartments. The two at the right and left ends contain parallel slanted lines, and the central compartment has two serpents in perpendicular position.

Plate IX, 1, 2, has a roll seal with curious geometrical design, which although effective in its individuality, has no apparent *motif* at all. It was found five metres below plain level. The tablet, Plate IX, 3, is the only one found below the Flood stratum last season, but Watelin has found more fragments in the stratum this year. The tablet seen here was found 5.50 metres below plain level, and is clearly not pictographic nor so old as those from Jemdet Nasr, published in *Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts*, vol. vii. Since epigraphy is the most certain guide in fixing the chronology of the stratifications and the tablet was found *in situ* not far above the period of painted ware, it is of immense importance, and

[1] So in *Gimil(mil)-*[4] *Dugan*; *see Babyloniaca*, vii, 70, n. 1. So in the year dates of Dungi, date formula 48, *é-Gimil-Dagan*(*ki*) is the full form.

[2] CT. xi, 25, A 5.

[3] Meissner, SAI. 406; cf. *pu-uz-rat ḫadê*, CT. xx, 29 B 8, with *KA ḫadê*, Sm. 67, 8 (*Babyloniaca*, vi, 113).

I give here a copy. It comes from the oval face of a tablet which carried at least two columns.

The photograph made at Kish has been taken upside down. Here the linear signs of the pictographic script have become slightly cuneiform and of the same period as the Fara tablets published by Professor Anton Deimel.

This season (1929–30) a good many tablets have been found in the central part of the tomb stratum about 3 metres below plain level, and 2 metres below the Flood stratum. I have not seen the originals, but the script is clearly later than the tablet above. For example, the sign is made

The sign is made

The ligature for *napḫaru*, total *AN-ŠÚ-GUN* appears in precisely the same form as on the Fara tablets.

Other signs on these pre-diluvian fragments retain extremely primitive forms.

The former is apparently identical with *TSBA*. vi, 454, A. iv, 3, there identified with [sign] *gunu* of Thureau-Dangin, REC. 330 ? All the tablets found below the Flood stratum are not later than the Fara texts, but so far as the meagre material permits me to form an opinion there is not much evolution in the script during the age from water level to the Flood stratum. This I should date from about 3800 to 3300 B.C. The inundation of the city occurred at the end of this period, which contains the great chariots and best copper work at Kish.

In the seventh season Watelin sank a shaft in the far corner of the excavation, at the deep area on Plate VII. At a depth of 3 metres from water level, or nine from plain level, he reached virgin soil. This work had to be carried out by the primitive method of keeping the water back by dipping with buckets, but this year we have installed a pump driven by a gasoline engine, and a large space is now being excavated to virgin soil. This is extremely important, for in 1928–9 Watelin found not only quantities of neolithic flint implements in this shaft,[1] but he found a definitely defined stratum of polychrome painted ware precisely like that of Jemdet Nasr. This year, by means of the efficient hydraulic method mentioned above, the stratum containing polychrome pottery has yielded a large number of fragments sufficient perhaps in some cases to be repaired into whole pots. Plate XI, 3, shows the bottom of a large vessel in red and brown on a yellow slip. It is here turned upside down and placed over a plain pot to support it. This ware is found two metres below

[1] See "Note sur l'industrie lithique de Kish," par L. Ch. Watelin, *L'Anthropologie*, 1929, pp. 65–76.

water level, and does not go down to virgin soil. Since pictographic tablets were found at Jemdet Nasr with the same pottery, and the same pictographic tablets have been found at Kish strayed to upper levels, and above the red stratum, it is certain that tablets of this kind will be found if they survived in this water-logged stratum. Judging by the depth and the evolution of the script on the series of tablets from 8 metres below plain level upward to the tablets in the red stratum, which may be safely dated at 2900 B.C., it is a low estimate when we date the painted ware of Kish and Jemdet Nasr at 4000 B.C.

For seven years the Expedition has sent to Oxford and the Field Museum skulls and skeletons that our anthropologists might study the racial character of the peoples who lived at various periods in Kish. In 1924, Mr. Buxton, Reader in Physical Anthropology at Oxford, proved that the skulls from the cemetery in the palace are predominantly dolichocephalic. A few brachycephalic skulls were found there. The same is true of the skulls found in or just above the red stratum, which is contemporary with the palace cemetery. I took this to mean that the Semite represents the long-headed race and the round heads are the Sumerians. Mr. Buxton refused to go further than to conclude that there were two races or a mixed race. Now we have a very large number of skulls from every stage of the great tomb stratum, right down to water level, or from the period 4000-3300 B.C. They have been studied by Mr. Penniman, and found to be preponderantly brachycephalic. Still the long-headed type persists here, and Mr. Buxton declares that right back to the deepest tombs at water level the population was already mixed. What the result will be if skulls are found in the still deeper trenches below water level remains to be seen. But both of these anthropologists agree on one vital point. The deeper the excavations, the more emphatic is the excess of round over long heads. This is clearly what we expect if the Sumerian is the round-headed type.

Plate IX, 5, shows a painted head found above the red stratum. It clearly belongs to the period of painted ware. Pictographic tablets of the Jemdet Nasr type also lay in the same level, and it is obvious that the inhabitants of Kish had an antiquarian interest in the monuments of their remote ancestors. These remains from a stratum 30 feet below that in which they were found had been preserved through successive generations. The head is a typical armenoid, and probably the best evidence now at our disposal for studying a real Sumerian or proto-Sumerian of the period 4000 B.C. It is the only model moulded to life which has the colour of the hair and skin indicated in colours. The torso of the statue has not been recovered. A deep round hole remains at the bottom of the neck of the head to receive the projection which attached it to the body. I described it fully in the *Daily Telegraph*, 13th December, 1929, and again in the *Illustrated London News*, 8th February, 1930, where a drawing in colours by Miss Legge is reproduced. The hair left on the crown by the tonsure of the period and the full beard without moustaches are black. The skin is a pale yellow. The reproduction in the *Illustrated London News* has too much red in it. Mr. Buxton takes the colouring of the skin to indicate an olive coloured skin. The irises, eyebrows, and eye lashes are black. In no case is this a Mongolian, despite the skin. That is definitely excluded by the shape of the face and head according to Mr. Buxton.

A Fragment from the Pratitya-samutpada-vyakhya of Vasubandhu

By GIUSEPPE TUCCI

VERY little, as it is known, remains in Sanskrit of the literary activity of Vasubandhu. If we except some *kārikās* of the *Abhidharma-kośa*, we have nothing else than the *Viṃśikā* and the *Triṃśikā*, recently edited by Sylvain Lévi. I may add that the *Trisvabhāva-kārikā* has also been found in Nepal, and copies are with the French Sanskritist and with me. I shall also mention the fragments of the *vṛtti* upon the *Madhyānta-vibhaṅga* (or *vibhāga*) by Maitreya, incorporated in the *ṭīkā* of Sthiramati, which is being edited by me and Vidhuśekhara Śāstrī from the Nepalese manuscript. It will, therefore, be of interest to Buddhist scholars and to Indologists in general to see here published another short, but not insignificant, fragment from the pen of the same *ācārya*, viz. the *Pratītya-samutpāda-vyākhyā*, a commentary upon the *Pratītya-samutpāda-sūtra* referred to in the discussion of this same subject in the *Abhidharma-kośa* (*Bkaḥ-ḥgyur*, Mdo, xviii, 11).

The work was already known to us through its Tibetan translation (Cordier, *Catalogue*, iii, p. 365, Mdo. ཆེ); but, as it is a very difficult and abstruse treatise, the value of the few leaves that I edit here cannot be sufficiently emphasized. Moreover, our text deals with one of the fundamental points, I should rather say, the very kernel of Buddhist dogmatics, viz. the law of the causal connection (12 *nidānas*); it supplements and explains the *Abhidharma-kośa*.[1] Unfortunately,

[1] Chap. i, *vijñāna* and *ṣaḍ-āyatana*; chap. iii, 1, *saṃskāra* and *bhava*; chap. v, *tṛṣṇā* and *upādāna*; general discussion on the *pratītya* and the remaining members in chap. iii.

the fragment is not very large. In fact the extant Tibetan translation covers 69 folios; but the pages corresponding to our text are approximately only 8½. We may therefore infer that the six leaves here edited represent about one-eighth of the entire work.[1]

Of the twelve *vibhaṅgas* into which it was divided we have :

1 leaf of the first	*avidyā-vibhaṅga.*
1 leaf of the	*vedanā-vibhaṅga.*
1½ leaves of the	*tṛṣṇā-vibhaṅga* (complete).
1 leaf of the	*upādāna-vibhaṅga.*
1½ leaves of the	*bhava-vibhaṅga.*

The palm-leaf manuscript from which my copy has been taken belongs to His Holiness Śrī Hemarāja Śarmā, spiritual preceptor to His Highness the Mahārāja of Nepal. It is written in old Newari characters of the twelfth or thirteenth century and it is generally correct. It contains six lines per page. I have carefully compared my text with the Tibetan translation and noted down all the passages in which a *varia lectio* between the Sanskrit original and the Tibetan rendering is traceable.[2]

I cannot conclude these short introductory remarks without expressing my deepest gratitude to His Holiness Śrī Hemarāja Śarmā. He has not only been so kind as to show me the most precious gems of his private collection of MSS., but also has graciously allowed me to take copies of some of them; while in the frequent meetings that we had at the Durbar Library I had the rare opportunity of learning very much from his unparalleled knowledge of Sanskrit literature and

[1] From the colophons of the various chapters we deduce that the title of the treatise was not *Pratītya-samutpāda-vibhaṅga-nirdeśa*, as restored in Tibetan, but *Pratītya-samutpāda-vyākhyā* (Tib. *bśad. pa.*). *Vibhaṅga* is the name of the various chapters, each corresponding to a particular *nidāna*.

[2] The Tibetan xylograph used by me belongs to the Calcutta University, and was kindly put at my disposal by the authorities. It is a good copy of the Narthang edition.

things Indian. Nor should any Indologist forget the noble work in which, with the enlightened help of His Highness the Mahārāja of Nepal, he is engaged, I mean, the rescue from inevitable destruction of these old remains of ancient Indian culture which can still be found in the fortunate country of Nepal.

I

Avidyā-vibhaṅga

(Tib. fol. 4a, l. 1) . . . . [इत्यु]क्त्वा विधिर्विज्ञायते । न पूर्वकालक्रियार्थ इति । पुनश्चाह पश्चाद्विनिश्चयं करिष्यामः । व इति युष्मभ्यं युष्मानुद्दिश्येति दर्शयति । भिक्षव इति । आमन्त्रणं भिक्षूणामन्यचित्तानां तदभिमुखीकरणार्थम् । कस्माद्भिक्षूणामेव नान्यासां पर्षदाम् । "अग्रत्वाच्छ्रेष्ठत्वादासन्नत्वात्सदा च सांनिध्या-द्ग्रहणे च भाजनत्वाद्भिक्षूनामन्त्रयामास" इति भदन्तराहुलभद्रः[1] । आदावुद्देशो निर्देशस्य तत्पूर्वकत्वात् । तेन चादौच्यते यथा-प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादः । विभङ्गो निर्देशः । निर्देश उद्देशवचनम् । उद्देशश्च सुखेनार्थगत्यर्थम् । निर्देशस्याल्पेन यत्नेन सुखं संधारणार्थश्च । वृत्तिमूलभूतत्वात्[2] । एवं हि स्वाख्यातो भवति । समासतो व्यासतश्चा-ख्यानात्[3] । देशयिष्यामीत्यादि विभङ्गाख्ययोर्देशनयोः[4] प्रवर्तनं प्रतिजानीते । यथाऽन्यत्र धर्मं देशयिष्यामीत्याह । न च सूत्रादि-धर्मादन्या तद्देशना । लोकेऽप्येवं वचनं वक्ष्यामीति । न च वचनस्यान्यत्पुनर्वचनम् । तदित्ययं निपातो वाक्योपन्यासे तस्मादर्थे च । शृणुतेति । श्रोत्रावधाने प्रयोजयति । साधु च सुष्ठु च

[1] We have another fragment of this disciple of Nāgārjuna, concerning whom see Ui, *Studies in Indian Philosophy* (in Japanese), vol. ii, p. 341, and *ZII.*, vol. vi, p. 224.

[2] Tib.: sgrel . pa . dan . mdo . lta . bu . yin . pai . p'yir.

[3] This passage is quoted by Haribhadra in *Abhisamayālankārāloka* (p. 19 of my forthcoming edition). *Samāsanirdiṣṭasya vyāsataś cākhyānāt svākhyātatvam.* But perhaps the common source is the *Vyākhyā-yukti* of Vasubandhu.

[4] Viz. *samāsataḥ* and *vyāsataḥ* (*uddeśa*).

मनसिकुरुतेति । अविपरीतादरग्रहणे पर्षदो देशनाभाजनत्वापा-
दनार्थम् । अन्यथा हि देशनायाः साफल्यं न स्यात् । त्रिभिर्दोषैः ।
आक्षेपदोषेण अश्रवणस्याश्रवणात् । प्रज्ञादोषेण वा विपरीतव्यञ्जना-
र्थग्रहणात् । स्वस्त्यरिष्टादिवत्[1] । मन्दच्छन्ददोषेण वाऽनाग्रहोद्गृही-
तस्याधारणात् । [retro] पराङ्मुखाशुचिच्छिद्रभाजनेषु वृष्टसा-
फल्यवत्[2] । तदप्रवेशवैकृत्यानवस्थानतः । देशयिष्यामीत्युक्त्वा भाषिष्ये
इति पुनः किमर्थमेवं भाषिष्ये[3] । अन्यथा नेति प्रदर्शनार्थम् । अहमपि
च साधु च सुष्ठु च भाषिष्य इति सम्बन्धनार्थञ्च । भाषिष्ये केवलमहं युष्मा-
भिस्तु प्रतिपत्त्या सम्पाद्यमिति सन्दर्शनार्थञ्च । यथान्यत्राह "युष्मा-
भिरेवं करणीयमाख्यातारस्तथागताः" इति । प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादस्यादिः
कतम इति परप्रश्नावकाशे स्वयं तद्वचनं तदनन्तरं कथाविच्छेददो-
षपरिहारार्थम् । मारवेण प्रश्नमकुर्वतामनुग्रहार्थम् । एकार्थी-
कृतवचसां वचनेर्यापथभेदात् । विक्षेपदोषपरिहारार्थञ्च । यदुतेति-
निपातद्वयमादिदेशनारम्भप्रदर्शनार्थम् । अस्मिन् सतीदं भवत्यस्यो-
त्पादादिदमुत्पद्यत[4] इति । अभेदेन प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादस्यादिं देशयति ।
अङ्गानामकीर्तनाद्यदुत "अविद्याप्रत्ययाः संस्काराः" इति भेदेना-
ङ्गानां कीर्तनात् । तत्रास्मिन् सतीति विद्यमान इदं भवतीति
जायते । यथा हि सप्तमी हेत्वर्थे वेदितव्या । यथा देवे वर्षति सस्यं
जायते । हिमे पतति सस्यं शुष्यतीति । अत्र वृष्टिः सस्यजन्महेतुर्वि-
ज्ञायते । हिमपातः सस्यशोषस्य । एवमस्मिन् सतीदं भवतीत्यन्य-
सद्भावो ऽन्यप्रादुर्भावस्य हेतुर्गम्यते । अस्योत्पादादिति प्रादुर्भावात् ।
इदम् . . . . (Tib. fol. 5b, l. 4).

[1] *svasti* is *śubhe*; but *arista* is *śubhāśubhe* according to Amara (iii, 5 = 2406), and in Jyotiṣa is synonym of misfortune, or unlucky omen.

[2] This example is fully illustrated by Haribhadra, op. cit., p. 124. If a pot is upside down, unclean, or with holes, it cannot be used for collecting rain water: in the first case there is *apraveśa*, in the second *vaikṛtya*, in the third *anavasthānā*.

[3] rnam . par . dbye . ba . bstan . gyis . žes . gsuṅs . nas . yaṅ . yid . la . zuṅ . šig . daṅ . bšad . do . žes . gsuns . pa . cii . p'yir . že . na.

[4] So also *Śālistamba* ap. de la Vallée Poussin. *Théorie des douze causes*, p. 71; *Mahāvastu*, ii, 285; *Prasanna-padā*, p. 9 (and note 7 by the editor); *Abhidharma-kośa*.

II

Vedanā-vibhaṅga

(Tib. fol. 39b, l. 6) . . . . [दुःखान्त][1]रोपरमे तु सुखबु-
द्धिर्भवति । यथेर्यापथान्तरभारावतारणयोः चिरमूत्रानुपरमे च ।
तस्मान्नास्त्येव सुखम् । तदिदमज्ञात्वा सुखहेतुं तस्याव्यवस्थितत्वं
कल्प्यम् । [विष]य[2]विशेषं केवलं सुखहेतुं चेतसि कृत्वा नाध्यात्मिकं
शरीरावस्थाविशेषम् । उभयञ्च तत्समयं सुखहेतुः । यादृशञ्च तदुभयं
सुखाय कल्पते, तादृशं न कदाचिद्दुःखायेति । नाव्यवस्थितः
सुखहेतुस्तथथाभिः शालियवशाकमांसा[3]दीनां यादृशमवस्थान्तरं
प्राप्य स्वादुरसहेतुर्भवति, न तादृशं[4] प्राप्य कदाचिदस्वादु-
रसहेतुरित्येष दृष्टान्तः । दुःखवेदनोपरमे ऽपि कदाचित्सुखवेदनान्तरं
परिच्छिद्यते । तत्र सुख एव सुखबुद्धिर्भवति । न दुःखोपरमे ।
तद्यथा श्रान्तस्याङ्गसंवाहनेर्यापथान्तरयोः । अन्यथा कालान्-
तरेणापि श्रमोपरमे तादृश्येव सुखबुद्धिः स्यात् । कदाचिन्न सुखं
न दुःखं परिच्छिद्यते । तत्र दुःखनिर्मोचमात्रे सुखोपचारो भवति,
न सुखबुद्धिर्वेदनान्तरस्यापरिच्छेदात् । इत्यश्चैतदेवं यन्मृष्टमन्नपानं
भूयसा यत्नेन प्रार्थयते । न चोदनकुल्माषकाञ्जिकोदकमात्रेणापि
क्षुत्पिपासादुःखं नोपरमति । यदा च क्षुत्पिपासारहितस्य स्वादुसुग-
न्धिद्रव्यान्तराणां तारतम्यविशेषात्सुखविशेषबुद्धिर्जायते, सा[5]
ततमस्य दुःखान्तरस्योपरमात् । [retro] घ्राणरसने वा[6] श्रोत्रे वा
पुनः मधुरतूर्यसङ्गीतिध्वनीनां श्रवणात्, तस्मान्न दुःखायामेव
वेदनायां दुःखान्तरोपरमात् सुखवेदनाबुद्धिः सिध्यति । न चापि
केवले दुःखान्तरोपरमे । इत्यागमतो ऽपि युक्तितो ऽपि सिद्धास्तित्वो

[1] sdug . bsṅal . gžan . žig. For all the discussion see *Abhidharma-kośa*, vi, 3 ff. (Trans. by de la Vallée Poussin, iii, 127 ff.)

[2] des . ṣdi . dag . ma . rtogs . nas . bde . bai . rgyu . de . dag . rnam . par . gnas . pa . yin . par . rtog . par . byed . do . že . na | yul . gyi . bye . brag . ṣba' . žig . ; the Locāva read therefore *tasyā ryavasthi*.

[3] Tib. *ña* . = *matsya*.

[4] Tib. adds *avasthāntaram* : de . ṣdra . bai . gnas . skabs . gžan . rñed . na.

[5] Tib. dei . ts'e . (*tadā*) . sdug . bsñal . gžan . ži . ba . gaṅ . žig . yin.

[6] Doubtful ; according to Tib. it should be : *ghrāṇena punaḥ* sna . bos . kyaṅ . yid . du . 'oṅ . ba . sñan . pa . sna . ts'ogs . pai . sgra . rnams . la . ñan . par . byed . pai . p'yir . ro. Cf. *Abhidh. k.*, iii, p. 135.

वेदनाः[1] । "स्पर्शप्रत्यया वेदना" इति । अत्रापि प्रत्ययप्रत्ययि-द्वयनियमानियमेऽनियम एव श्रेयान् । किं कारणम् । प्रत्ययनियमे हि वेदनायाः, अन्ये हेतुसमनन्तरालम्बनप्रत्यया न स्युः सूत्रञ्च विरुध्येत । "यत्किञ्चित्सत्त्वानां वेदितमुत्पद्यते सर्वं तत्प्रतीत्य नाप्रतीत्य । किं प्रतीत्य । छन्दं प्रतीत्य वितर्कं प्रतीत्य स्पर्शं प्रतीत्य" इति । तथा "यत्किञ्चित्सत्त्वानां दुःखमुत्पद्यते सर्वभूतोपधिनिदानम्"[2] इति । प्रत्ययिनियमे स्पर्शो नान्यचैतसिकधर्मप्रत्ययः स्यात् । उभयनियमे यथोक्तदोषप्रसङ्गः । तस्मादनियम एव श्रेयान् । न च देशनावैयर्थ्यम् । प्रधानप्रत्ययदेशनात् । स्पर्शस्य प्रधानप्रत्ययत्वं सुखवेदनीयादिस्पर्शभेदेन सुखादिवेदनोत्पत्तेः । तथा हि तदुत्पत्ता-वन्ये प्रत्यया छन्दवितर्कादयश्च स्पर्शमपेक्षन्ते न तु स्पर्शस्तानपेक्षम् [अपेक्षते][3]

[प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादव्याख्यायां वेदनाविभङ्गः समाप्तः][4]

Tṛṣṇā-vibhaṅga

वेदना[प्रत्य]या तृष्णेति । तृष्णा कतमा । तिस्रः तृष्णा इति विस्तरः[5] । अत्रापि भगवता कामरूपारूप्यभेदेन तृष्णायाः प्रभेद-[उक्तो न तु स्वभावता । विनेयविशेषापेक्षयेति पूर्ववत् । तत्र का][6]

III

माव[च]री तृष्णा कामतृष्णा मध्यपदलोपात् । स्वमचिकावञ्चा-मसूकरवञ्च । एवं रूपारूप्यतृष्णे यथायोग्यं वेदितव्ये । सैषा त्रैधातुकी तृष्णोक्ता भवति । सा पुनः कामरूपारूप्यावीतरागाणां यथाक्रमं या क्लिष्टा प्रार्थना सक्तिरालयः[7] । यद्भूमिका च या

[1] *sukha, duḥkha, asukhāduḥkha.*

[2] *Suttanipāta*, 728.

[3] reg . pa . ni . ńes . par . de . dag . la . bltos . pa . ma . yin . no.

[4] Colophon, not in the MS., rten . ciṅ . ạbrel . bar . ạbyuṅ . bśad . pa las . ts'or . ba . rnam . par . dbye . ba . rdsogs . so.

[5] *Abhidharma-kośa*, iii and v. *Théorie*, etc., p. 26.

[6] t'a . dad . pas . sred . pai . rab . tu . dbye . ba . gsuṅs . kyi . ṅo . bo . ñid . ni . ma . yin . te . | gdul . byai . bye . brag . la . bltos . nas . te . sña . ma . bźin . no . | de . la . ạdod . pa . na . spyod . pai . sred . pa . ni.

[7] ts'ol . ba . daṅ . c'ags . pa . daṅ . źen . pa.

वेदना तद्भूमिकैव तत्प्रत्यया तृष्णायाः । कथं दुःखायां वेदनायां तृष्णा नोच्यते तस्यामेव तृष्णेति । अपि तु सुखा वेदना तत्संयोगवियोगतृष्णायाः प्रत्ययः । [1]– दुःखा तद्संयोगवियोगतृष्णायाः –[1] । अदुःखासुखा तदवस्थाऽभिरतितृष्णायाः । तत्संयोगावियोगतृष्णायाश्च कस्याञ्चित्समापत्तौ [2] । उक्तं च भगवता "स दुःखया वेदनया स्पृष्टः कामसुखमभिनन्दति"[3] इति । दुःखापि वेदना सुखतृष्णायाः प्रत्ययः । अपि तु खलु त्रिविधवेदना व्यवकीर्णायां स्कन्धसन्ततावभेदेन या आत्मभावतृष्णा सहजात्मदृष्टिसहगता प्रवर्तते, सा वेदनामुखेन प्रवर्तते । तस्याः सर्वासौ वेदनासन्ततिरधिपतिप्रत्ययः । यथोक्तं महानिदान[4]पर्याये "यत्रानन्द वेदना नास्ति वेदको नोपलभ्यते । अपि तु तत्रास्मीति[5] स्यादिति नो भदन्त"[6] । तास्वभेदप्रवृत्तामात्मभावतृष्णां प्रतीत्य परिकल्पितामात्मदृष्टिमुत्पादयत्येके । ताश्च सन्धायोक्तं भगवता । "अविद्यासंस्पर्शजं भिक्षवो वेदितम् : प्रतीत्योत्पन्ना तृष्णा । ततस्ते संस्काराः"[7] इति । सा चात्मवादोपादाने व्यवस्थिता । [retro] कथञ्चान्यथात्मवादोपादानं तृष्णाप्रत्ययं सिध्येत् । यदि तर्हि त्रिविधवेदनाप्रत्यया तृष्णा, कस्मात् "सुखायां वेदनायां रागोऽनुशेते"[8] इत्युच्यते । तदालम्बनतत्सम्प्रयोगित्वात्, स्वां सान्तानिकीं सुखां वेदनामधिकृत्य । यदि वेदनाप्रत्यया तृष्णा सर्वस्यास्ति वेदनेति, अर्हतोऽपि तृष्णाप्रसङ्गः । नैष्कर्म्याश्रितसौमनस्याद्यभावप्रसङ्गः । यन्मेघप्रत्यया वृष्टिरित्युच्यते, किं मेघे सत्यवश्यं वृष्टिर्भवति । एवं सत्यामपि वेदनायां नावश्यं तृष्णा भवति । किं पुनः कारणं न भवति । प्रतिपक्षविशेषयोगात् । बीजमेवा[स्या उ]द्धृतं[9] भवत्याश्रयादुपहतं वा, यतः सत्यपि प्रत्यये निर्बीजा नोत्पद्यते, उपहतबीजा वा । यथा सत्यपि वेपोदका-

[1-1] Missing in Tib.

[2] Tib. adds *pratyaya* : sred . pai . rkyen . yin . no.

[3] *Majjhima*, iii, 285, *so sukhāya vedanāya puṭṭho samāno abhinandati abhivadati ajjhosāya tiṭṭhati*. Cf. *Abhidharma-k.*, v, 1*a*–2*a* (iii, p. 7).

[4] Tib. adds *dharma* : rgyun . c'en . poi . c'os . kyi . rnam . grańs.

[5] 'on . kyań . de . la . bdag . go . sñam . byed . dam.

[6] *bhadanta* not in Tib. For the passage cf. *Dīgha.*, ii, p. 67.

[7] *Saṃyutta*, iii, 96.

[8] Cf. *Abhidharma-k.*, v, 18, 2*a* (vol. iii, p. 7).

[9] ṣdii . sa . bon . ñid . gnas . nas . bton . pa . 'm . mnan . pa . yin . te.

हि प्रत्यये न निर्बीजो ऽङ्कुरः प्रादुर्भवत्युपहतबीजो वा । विशेषितं चास्य च भगवता । "अविद्यासंस्पर्शजं वेदितं प्रतीत्योत्पन्ना तृष्णा" [1] इति । तथा ।

सुखं वेदयमानस्य वेदनाऽसम्प्रजानतः ।
रागस्यानुशयो भवत्यनिःसरणदर्शिनः [2] ॥ इति

। तस्मादपरिज्ञाता वेदना तृष्णायाः प्रत्ययो न सर्वा । इहापि तर्हि तथा किं न विशेषितम् । अविद्यया संस्कारसामान्यप्रत्ययत्वेनास्यार्थस्य [प्रदर्श]नत्वात् [3] । क्वचिद्भगवता तृष्णाया अविद्यैवोक्तः प्रत्ययः । "तृष्णाया भिक्षवो ऽविद्या हेतुरविद्या प्रत्ययो ऽविद्या निदानम्" इति ।

IV

[verse] तथा । "कश्च भिक्षवो भवतृष्णाया आहारः । अविद्या इति स्यादुवचनीयमिति" [4] क्वचित्स्पर्श एवोक्तः । "षट् तृष्णाकायाश्चक्षुःसंस्पर्शजा तृष्णा" इति विस्तरः । तथा । "यः कश्चिद्वेदनास्कन्धः संज्ञास्कन्धः [5] संस्कारस्कन्धः सर्वः संस्पर्शं प्रतीत्य" इति । इह पुनर्वेदनाप्रत्ययैवोक्तेति । कथं न सूत्रविरोधः । अभिसन्धिभेदात् । अविद्या हि तृष्णायाः सामान्यप्रत्ययं सन्धायोक्तम् । स्पर्शश्च । वेदना तु विशेषप्रत्ययम् । त्रिष्वपि हि धातुषु संमूढस्य यद्भूमिका वेदना तद्भूमिकतृष्णासमुदाचारात् । एकस्यामपि भूमौ तुल्यायामविद्यायां वेदनातदुत्कर्षापकर्षविशेषेण तृष्णाविशेषसमुदाचारात् । तृष्णासमुदाचारस्य प्रति सुखवेदनीयादिस्पर्शानां वेदनाविशेषापेक्षत्वादतो नास्ति विरोधः । "वेदनाप्रत्यया तृष्णा" इत्यत्र प्रत्ययनियमे यथोक्तदोषप्रसङ्गः । अन्ये च हेतुसमनन्तरप्रत्ययास्तृष्णाया न स्युः । प्रत्ययिनियमे वेदनान्येषां धर्माणां हेतुसमनन्तरालम्बनप्रत्ययो न स्यात् । सूत्रञ्च विरुध्येत । "दुःखायां वेदनायां प्रतिघो ऽनुशेते" [6] इति विस्तरः । "सुखितस्य चित्तं समाधियते । सुखितस्य धर्मा

[1] *Samyutta*, iii, 96.
[2] nes . par . mi . ṣbyuṅ . bar . ṣgyur . ro. *Samyutta*, iv, p. 205.
[3] dei . don . bstan . zin . pai . p'yir . ro.
[4] *Aṅguttara*, v. 116.
[5] Not in Tib.
[6] *Samyutta*, iv, 208.

व्यभिचरन्ती" तेषमादि । इदं नियमे द्विधादोषप्रसङ्गः । अनियमे अर्थं
उपदेशः । नात्र नियमः । न चैव अर्थं उपदेशः । तृष्णाया विशेषप्र-
त्ययख्यापनार्थम । तथोपदेशात् पूर्ववत् प्रधानप्रत्ययत्वं । यतो वेदना
सुखादिवेदनासंयो[retro]गादिमुखेन तृष्णायाः समुदाचरणात् ॥

प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादव्याख्यायां तृष्णाविभङ्गः समाप्तः ॥

Upādāna-vibhaṅga

"तृष्णाप्रत्ययमुपादानमिति" । उपादानं कतमदिति विस्तरः ।
अथ "कामोपादानं यावदात्मवादोपादानम" इति । अयं समासः
किं रूपदर्शनवदेदितव्यः । आहोस्विद्रूपायतनवत् । किञ्चातः ।
यद्रूपदर्शनवच्चेत् कामादीनामुपादानमिति, उपादेयभेदेनोपा-
दानस्य प्रभेद एव निर्दिष्टो भवति, न तु स्वभावः । तत्र के कामा-
दयः । किमेषामुपादानमिति निर्देष्टव्यम । रूपायतनवच्चेत्, कामादय
एवोपादानमिति । उपादानस्य स्वभावश्च निर्दिष्टो भवति, प्रभेदश्च ।
के तु कामादयः कथस्योपादानमिति निर्देष्टव्यम । रूपदर्शनवदयं
समासः । प्रभेदेनैव च स्वभावमेके बुध्यन्त इत्युक्तं प्राक् । तत्र कामाः
पञ्चकामगुणा इहाभिप्रेताः । यथा चोक्तं "कामीकामा[1] इति
पञ्चानां कामगुणानामेतदधिवचनम"[2] इति । तथा ।

तस्येदं कामयानस्य छन्दजातस्य देहिनः ।
ते कामा न समृध्यन्ति शल्यविद्ध इव रूप्यते[3] ॥

इति दृष्टिसमासतः । भवदृष्टिर्विभवदृष्टिश्च । तन्मुखेन चान्यानि दृष्टिग-
तानि । तदुपसंहितं[4] शीलस्य व्रतस्य शीलव्रतम् । तत्राकार्याद्विरति-
समादानं शीलम् । वेषपानभोजनस्नानकष्टचर्यादिविशेषसमादानं
व्रतम् । आत्मेति दृष्टिरात्मवादस्तयात्माभव[5] . . . .
. . . .

[1] Tib. ạdod . can . ạdod . pa.

[2] MSS. °*nānāṃ mekadadhi*°. Tib. ạdod . pai . yon . tan . lṅa . po . de . dag . gi . ts'ig . bla . dags . yin . no |

[3] Tib. : gal . te . ạdod . pa . ts'ol . byed . ciṅ | ạdod . skyes . bai . lus . can . te . ạdod . pa . de . dag . ma . ạbyor . na | zug . tu . zug . bžin . gnod . par . ạgyur ॥ *Abhidharma-kośa*, i, p. 24. *Suttanipāta Aṭṭhakavagga*, i, 2.

[4] de . daṅ . ạbrel . bai . ts'ul . k'rims.

[5] Here there is a gap. (= from Tib. 43*a*, l. 1, to Tib. 46*b*, l. 2.)

V

क्लेशोऽस्ति । यतस्ते न दृष्टिं वा शीलव्रतं वात्मवादं वा परात्
म्याभिनिवसन्ते । तृष्णासंक्लेशस्त्वस्ति तेषां यतो भूमेरवीतरागास्त
छन्दराग उपादानम् । परिपूर्ण[क्ले][1]शपुद्गलमधिकृत्येदं चतुर्विध
मुपादानमुक्तं भगवता । अन्यत्र स्वभेदेनोक्तम् । "उपादानीया धर्मा
कतमे । चक्षूरूपाणी" ति विस्तरः । उपादानं कतमत् । योऽत्र छन्दरा
ग इदमत्रोपादानमिति । आत्मवादोपादानमप्येषामस्ति । आत्मभा
वोऽस्मीति छन्दराग इत्यपरे । तृष्णाप्रत्ययमुपादानमित्यत्र प्रत्ययनि
यमश्चेत्, तृष्णैवोपादानस्य प्रत्ययो नान्य इत्यन्ये हेतुसमनन्तरालम
म्बनप्रत्यया उपादानस्य न स्युः, सूत्रान्तरं च परिहार्यम् । "अविद्या हे
संरागाय संद्वेषाय संमोहाय"[3] इति । तथा "ये केचिदनेकविध
पापका अकुशला धर्मा संभवन्ति सर्वे तेऽविद्यामूलका यावदविद्या
प्रत्यया" इति । तथा "यः कश्चित्संस्कारस्कन्धः सर्वः संस्पर्शं प्रतीत्य
इत्येवमादि । प्रत्ययिनियमश्चेत्, उपादानस्यैव तृष्णा प्रत्ययो नान्यस्
तस्येषां धर्माणां तृष्णा हेतुसमनन्तरालम्बनाधिपतिप्रत्ययो न स्यात्
सूत्रान्तरञ्च परिहार्यम् । "कर्मणो भिक्षवस्तृष्णा हेतुस्तृष्
प्रत्ययस्तृष्णा निदान"मित्येवमादि । उभयनियमश्चेत्, उभयथे
यथोक्तदोषः । अनियमे देशनावैयर्थ्यम् । [rotro] तस्मान्नास्ति नियम
न चैवानियमे देशनावैयर्थ्यं प्रधानप्रत्ययज्ञापनार्थं तथा देशनात्
तथा हि वेदना तृष्णया तत्संयोगवियोगार्थं, कामाद्युपाद
भवति । उपादानभेदश्च प्रत्यविपादयो वेदनातृष्णामपेक्षन्ते । न
त्वा अविद्यादीनम् । अतिवक्तप्रसङ्गविनिश्चयं तूपादानव्यवस्थानमि
त्यलमतिप्रसङ्गेन ।

प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादव्याख्यायामुपादानविभङ्गः समाप्तः

Bhava-vibhanga

उपादानप्रत्ययो भव इति । भवः कतमः । त्रयो भवाः । कामभ
रूपभव आरूप्यभव इति । यद्यपि समासं प्रति प्रसङ्गः पूर्ववत्प्रतिष्ठं
तस्मात् कथमयं समास इति वक्तव्यम् । कामप्रतिसंयुक्तो भवः कामभ

[1] ñon . moṅs . pa . yoṅs . su . rdsogs . pai.

[2] But Tib. : ñe . bar . len . pa . med . gyur . pai . c'os.

[3] *Itivuttaka*, 40.

इत्यवमेव[। अपि भवपदस्योपात् । मधुद्रवत् सर्करगुडवच्च । अथ भवः । "पञ्चोपादान][1]स्कन्धा" इत्यभेदेनोक्तं सूत्रान्तरे भगवता । ते चत्वारः[2] त्रिषु धातुषु वेदितव्याः । एवं तर्हि भवप्रत्यया जातिरिति । काचा जातिर्या भवप्रत्यया [ते च त्रयो भवा एव][3] सप्तभवा उक्ताः सूत्रान्तरे यथायोगम् । "नरकभवः । तिर्यग्भवः । प्रेतभवः । देवभवः । मनुष्यभवः । कर्मभवः । अन्तराभवः" इति । यत्र येन च भवन्ति तत्त्वाख्यानञ्च इतिकृत्वा । येनेति येन हेतुना येन च कर्मणा । अत एतस्मिन् सूत्रे कर्मभवसङ्गृहीतास्त्रयो भवा वेदितव्याः । उक्तं च सूत्रान्तरे । "यदस्यानन्द कर्मायत्यां पुनर्भवाभिनिर्वर्तकमिदमत्र भवस्य" इति[4] विस्तरः । प्रकरणेऽप्युक्तम् । "कामभवः कतमः । यत्कर्म कामप्रतिसंयुक्तमुपादानप्रत्ययमायत्यामभिनिर्वृत्तिकामम् । तस्य च कर्मणो यो विपाकः । रूपभवः कतमः । यत्कर्म रूपप्रतिसंयुक्त-मिति पूर्ववत् । आरूप्यभवः कतमः ।

VI

यत्कर्मारूप्यप्रतिसंयुक्तम्"[5] इति पूर्ववत् । अथापि यत्कर्म भव इत्युक्तं तत्प्रत्यया जातिरभिप्रेता न तु तद्विपाकप्रत्यया । सोऽपि तु भवः । तस्मात्कर्मभव एव त्रैधातुकः कामादिभवो[ऽभि]प्रेतः[6] । भवत्यनेनान्तरं पुनर्भव इति भवः । यथा वहत्यनेनेति वहः । एवं तर्हि संस्काराणां भवस्य च को विशेषः । उभयमप्येतत्कर्माख्यां लभते । कर्म तूभयत्ववस्थं सरूपावस्थं वासनावस्थञ्च । तथोऽपि हि चित्तस-न्ताने वा[सना]विशेषः[7] कर्माख्यां लभते । यथा रसायनेन पलितानि

[1] Suppl. according to Tib.: de . bžin . du . lhag . ma . rnams . kyaṅ . ts'ig . bar . ma . mṅon . pai . p'yir . sbraṅ . rtsii . c'u . lta . bu . daṅ . bu . ram . 'o . ma . bžin . no . | srid . pa . yaṅ . gaṅ . že . na . | ñe . bar . len . pai . p'uṅ . po . lṅa . 'o.

[2] Here MS. has *bhava*, which is not in Tib. and seems to be misplaced.

[3] srid . pa . gsum . po . de . dag . ñid . mdo . sde . gžan . las . srid . pa . bdun . tu . gsuṅs . te.

[4] Cf. *Abhidharma-k.*, iii, p. 87. For this and the following passage cf. 阿毗達磨法蘊足論, Taishō edition, vol. xxvi, p. 512, 2, 3.

[5] I have failed to identify this passage in the *Jñānaprasthāna*.

[6] Tib. la . sogs . pai . srid . pa . yin . par . dgoṅs . pa . ste.

[7] sems . kyi . rgyun . la . bag . c'ags . kyi . bye . brag . de . las . skyes . pa.

शीर्यन्त इति तथ्योऽपि शरीरपरिणामविशेषो रसायनाख्यां लभते। तत्र यदा संस्कारप्रत्ययं विज्ञानमित्युच्यते, तदा सत्पापकं कर्म संस्काराख्यं लभते शक्तिविशेषतो विज्ञानस्रोतसः। तत्प्रत्ययत्वात्। यदा तूपादानप्रत्ययो भव इत्युच्यते तदा वासनाख्यं भवाख्यं लभते। यदि सा तद्वासना पुनर्भवाभिनिर्वर्तने लब्धवृत्तिर्भवति। अलब्धवृत्तिस्तु कर्माख्यां संस्काराख्यां च लभते। यथोक्तं विनये।

न प्रणश्यन्ति कर्माणि अपि कल्पशतैरपि।
सामग्रीं प्राप्य कालं च फलन्ति खलु देहिनाम्[1]॥ इति॥

एकस्यापि च पुद्गलस्यैकस्मिन् काले पुण्या[retro]दिविविधसंस्काराख्यस्याभ्युपगमात्। नो तु भवाख्यम्। सन्तोऽपि ह्यविद्याप्रत्ययाः संस्काराः कदाचित्पुनर्भवं नाभिनिर्वर्तयन्ति। तद्यथा वीतरागाणामधोभूमौ। अवीतरागाणामूर्ध्वभूमौ। दृष्टसत्यानामपायेषु शुद्धावासानामशुद्धावासेष्वर्हतां त्रैधातुके। तस्मान्न सर्वावस्थः संस्कारो भव इष्यते। स च सत्युपादाने भवावस्थां गच्छति नासतीत्युपादानप्रत्ययो भव इत्युच्यते। तथा सत्यप्यविद्याप्रत्यये संस्कारे यत्र [छन्द][2]रागस्तदाश्रित[पुनर्भव][3]स्यानुकूलो न भवति। न तत्र पुनर्भवोऽभिनिर्वर्तते। किमेवं नेष्यते। कृतस्य फलपरिग्रहायापि पूर्वकर्माणि वासनायाः परिणामविशेषाद्यथाबलं पश्चा[त्फलदानक्रियार्थमुपस्थितानीति। सत्यम्। यथाबलं तथा स्थितानि। यस्यां भूमौ][4] छन्दरागस्तदाश्रितस्य पुनर्भवस्यानुकूलो भवति, तस्यामेव नान्यस्यामुपादानप्रत्ययो भव इत्युच्यते। यद्वीतरागोऽधरायां[5] भूमावुपपद्यते, तत्राधरभूमिको छन्दरागः कथं पुनर्भवस्यानुकूलो भवति। व्यवसानावस्थायां तद्वासनायाः पुनर्वृत्तिलाभात्।

[1] Cf. *Divyāvadāna*, 54 and *passim*. (*b* different).

[2] Tib. ḥdun . pa . daṅ . ḥdod . c'ags.

[3] Ex. cj. MS. *ākṣiptasādhanatā tasya*. Tib. des. ḥp'aṅs . ṛai . yaṅ . srid . daṅ . rjes . su . mt'un . pa . ma . yin . na.

[4] Tib. stobs . ji . lta . ba . bžin . du . p'yis . ḥbras . bu . sbyin . par . bya . bai . p'yir . ñe . bar . gnas . pa . yin . pa . de . ltar . cii . p'yir . mi . ḥdod . ce . na . | bden . te . stobs . ji . lta . ba . bžin . du . gnas . pa . yin . no.

[5] Tib. 'og . ma.

यद्यवीतरागो ऽपायेषु दृष्टसत्यो नोपपद्यते किं तस्योपादानं न भवति । अपायानुकूलं भवति दर्शनप्रहातव्यस्य छन्दरागस्य प्रहीणत्वात् । तद्बलस्य च भग्नपृष्ठत्वात् । कस्मा पुनरपायानां सोपादानस्यावन्ध्यं कर्म । यथागतं भवो भवति मरणकाले ऽवश्यम् । पूर्वकाले ऽपि यन्नियतं कर्मोपपद्य वेदनीयमानन्तर्यादिकम् । यदि तद्वशो भूतकर्मादनन्तरं पुनर्भव[ति] (Tib. fol. 48b, l. 6).

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

LYDIAN NOTES ON THE SECOND SINGULAR IMPERATIVE AND ON HIPPONAX

The only verbal forms thus far definitely known in the Lydian inscriptions[1] are in the third present indicative or optative: *fẽnsλlifid*, *fẽnsλlibid* "he destroys", *d(ẽ)tdid* "he buries (?)", *varbtokid* "may he take vengeance",[2] *katsarlokid* (?), *vq(?)bapẽnt* "may he (they two) destroy". Of these, *katsarlokid* is twice preceded by two deity-names ($23^{4, 10}$), once by one (24^{13}), and once (17^{3}) the text is too mutilated to give any information. Similarly *vq(?)bapẽnt* is twice preceded by two deity-names (1^{8} [Aramaic version יבדרונה], $4b^{5}$) and twice by only one (3^{5}, 5^{5}). The similarity of the verbal endings *-id* and *-ẽnt* to the Indo-European system is obvious, but Littmann very wisely observes[3] that "perhaps Lydian had a verbal inflexion built on principles totally different from those of other languages".

Three Hesychian passages among the Lydian glosses collected by Buckler (pp. 85–7) seem to give evidence for another verb-form: *βασκε πικρολεα· πλησίαζε θᾶσσον* (cod. *πλησιον εξεθοαζε*). *Λυδιστί*; *βαστιζα κρολεα· θᾶσσον ἔρχου. Λυδιστί*; and *ιωπι· δεῦρο. Λυδοί.* The first is

[1] E. Littmann, *Sardis*, vi, i, 69–70, Leyden, 1916; the revised transcriptions and inscription-numbers given by W. H. Buckler, *Sardis*, vi, ii, Leyden, 1924, are here followed.

[2] Once *varbtok*, "the final letters of which may by mistake never have been engraved. Such omissions on the engraver's part were not uncommon" (Buckler, p. 23).

[3] p. 79; on Lydian generally, cf. J. Fraser, "The Lydian Language," in *Anatolian Studies Presented to Sir William Ramsey*, pp. 139–50, Manchester, 1923; E. H. Sturtevant, "Remarks on the Lydian Inscriptions," in *Language*, i (1925), 69–79; J. Friedrich, in M. Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, i, 141, Berlin, 1924; Deeters, "Lydia (Sprache)," in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, xiii, 2153–61, Stuttgart, 1927; A. Nehring, in O. Schrader, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*,[2] ii, 21–2, Berlin, 1929.

evidently to be written *βασκεπι κρολεα* parallel with *βαστιζα κρολεα*, and the third seems to find a semantic parallel in "viens", etc. Both components apparently occur elsewhere in Hesychius: *βασ-* in *βασαγικορος· ὁ θᾶσσον συνουσιάζων. παρὰ Ἱππώνακτι* (frag. 107 Bergk) for **βασαϝικορος*,[1] and *κρολιαζε· πλησίαζε θᾶττον*, apparently a Hellenized inflexion of a Lydian word.

The parallelism of *βασκεπι* and *ιωπι* (*βαστιζα* remains thus far quite obscure) seems to imply that the Lydian second singular imperative ended in *-pi*, although no words with this termination have so far been found in Lydian texts. If the suggestion here advanced be correct, it would appear to give additional evidence that the language is not Indo-European.

In connection with Hipponax, a few observations may be offered. The inscriptions associate *pλdãnś* and *artimuś* ($4b^{4-5}$, $23^{1, 3-1, 10}$). The former is, very probably, the Lydian representative of the Asianic word-group from which was borrowed the Greek deity-name *Ἀπολλων-*[2]; and it may well be that an actual Lydian curse underlies Hipponax's fragment 31:

'από σ' 'ολέσειεν Ἄρτεμις, σὲ δὲ κὠπόλλων.

The Hipponactian *πάλμυς* (1^1, 15^4, 30 A, B, 42^3) is certainly the *paλmλuλ* of the Lydian inscriptions (2^2, 16^3, 41^2, 42^2, 50^3)[3]; and some other words peculiar to him possibly belong to the same language. To this category one may tentatively assign *ακαπαρδεῦσαι* (1^3; cf. Hesychius *καπαρδεῦσαι· μαντεύσασθαι*),

[1] For $\gamma = ϝ$ in Hesychius cf. G. N. Hatzidakis, *Einleitung in die neugriechische Grammatik*, pp. 117–18, Leipzig, 1892; Bergk, ad loc., reads *βασανίκορος*, which seems less probable.

[2] Sturtevant, pp. 76–7; for various attempts to derive Apollo's name from Greek see O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, p. 1225[1], Munich, 1906; E. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, pp. 70–1, 1096–7, Paris, 1916.

[3] Cf. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, v, 455–6:—

τοῖς δὲ Λυδοῖς καὶ Ἴωσι τοῖς ἐν Ἐφέσου τόποις
πρὶν πάλμυς βασιλεὺς ὁ σύμπας ἐκαλεῖτο.

νικύρτα (49 [5]—form !—cf. Hesychius *νικύρτας· δουλέκδουλος*), *κόνισκε* (64 [1]; glossed in one MS. by *χαῖρε*), [1] *πισσεντασάντης* (94; "Pisas Lydi lingua sua singularem [al. lunarem] portum significare dixerunt", Servius, *ad Aen.*, x, 179), *ἄβδης· μάστιξ παρ' Ἱππώνακτι* (Hesychius), and *μαυλιστήριον· παρ' Ἱππώνακτι Λύδιον νόμισμα* [MS. *λεμισμα*] *λεπτόν τι* (Hesychius).[2]

LOUIS H. GRAY.

THE SHADOW-PLAY IN CEYLON

Positive references to the existence of a shadow-play in India are very rare. Jacob, *Geschichte des Schattentheaters*, 1925, p. 28, remarks of Ceylon "Auch aus Ceylon liegen keine gesicherten Nachrichten vor". Under these circumstances, it seems worth while to call attention to *Mahāvaṁsa* (*Cūḷavaṁsa*), lxvi, 133, "Amongst the many Tamils and others (employed as spies) he (Gajabāhu II, r. 1137–53 A.D.) made such as were practised in dance and song, to appear as showmen of leather puppets (*camma-rūpa*) and the like." Here *camma-rūpa*, leather figures, seems to afford positive evidence for the shadow-play in Southern India and Ceylon in the twelfth century.

ANANDA COOMARASWAMY.

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[1] O. Hoffmann, *Griechische Dialekte*, iii, 150, Göttingen, 1898; see also Bergk, ad loc.

[2] A. H. Sayce, in *Classical Review*, xxxix (1925), 159, suggests that the *κέρνας* and *μακέλας* of *Anthologia Palatina*, vii, 709, as well as the Hesychian *κέρμηλος· ἀφ' οὗ χαλκὸς γίνεται*, are Lydian (cf. also G. A. Gerhard, in Pauly-Wissowa, viii, 1898–9 (1913). For Hipponax's *Κανδαῦλαν* (1 [2]), "*κυνάγχα, σκυλλοπνίκτην*" see G. M. Bolling, in *Language*, iii (1927), 15–18. Hipponax also uses the Phrygian words *βέκος* (82; cf. Herodotus, ii, 2) and *νηνίατον* (129, cited by Pollux, iv, 79; cf. *νινήατος· νόμος παιδαριώδης καὶ Φρύγιον μέλος* [Hesychius]; cf. likewise frag. 135). Despite Johannes Lydus, *de Mensibus*, iii, 20: *εἰσὶ δὲ οἵ φασι τῇ Λυδῶν ἀρχαίᾳ φωνῇ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν καλεῖσθαι σάρδιν*, the word *σάρδιν* is not Lydian in origin, but was borrowed from Iranian (Avesta *sarəd-*, Old Persian *θard-*; cf. L. H. Gray, in *JAOS*. xxviii [1907], 334).

THE LEGEND OF TELIBINUS AND SOME ROUMANIAN CAROLS

In the last number of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Professor Sayce has published the legend of Telibinus. As far as one is able to gather from the fragment it is clear that we have here a kind of passion play or, as Professor Sayce says, a parallel to the legend of Attys and Adonis. On page 309 the following description is given of the plight in which the world finds itself during the time of the death or disappearance of Telibinus, and the change which takes place on his recovery or resuscitation to life.

20. Telibinus comes back to the court (parnassa); his land he surveyed;
21. the frame of the door (?) remained: the roof of the house remained;
22. the temple of the gods was standing; the fuel of the hearth remained;
23. in the gold the sheep remained there; in the ox-stall the oxen
24. remained there. So the mother carried her child; the sheep carried its lamb;
25. the ox carried its calf, and Telibinus (restored) the king and queen; them
26. to life and strength (and) future days he appointed.

Among the Roumanian legends of Lady Mary which are sometimes used as Christmas Carols, which in reality are merely versified charms, there are a large number in which these essential features appear. I have published some of them in an English translation in my *Studies and Texts*, p. 1120 ff. and I am giving here a portion of two of them. The parallelism is absolutely striking. I do not venture to suggest any direct connection between the legend published by Professor Sayce and these Roumanian, separated as they are by so many thousands of years. But the coincidence is very curious, and it can only be explained if the legend had become a charm or incantation, as it may have been, and then

transmitted the same as many other charms through Greek or Byzantine sources probably by the Manicheans and also by the Bogomils, oral or written, until they became part of the popular literature of the peoples of the Balkans in S.E. Europe. The line of demarcation between a carol and a charm is very difficult to draw, especially when it is recommended so as to bring salvation to the people.

I am giving here only the essential parts of the carol, p. 1123, lines 7–120.

(7) . . . a perfect cathedral,
And wonderfully beautifully.
Who can be seen in it?
Who sits therein?
Lady Mary sits
In the midst of the altar
On a golden stool,

(14) With her face towards the east.
She looked into the books,
She looked to different parts,
To all the saints
And all the just.
She looked for them
And found them,

(21) But only her Son,
The Lord of Heaven
And of the earth,
However much she searched,
She could not find Him.
Then she took
A white book,
In her right hand,
The holy book
In her left hand,
Then she looked
And she searched
Down the waters of the Jordan,
And she saw no one;
She heard no one.
Then she took off
The white dress of the angels,
And she put on
The black robes of a nun,
And the white staff
In her right hand,
The holy staff
In the left hand.
And she looked,
And she searched,
Up the waters of the Jordan,
And she saw no one
And she heard no one,
Only John
St. John,
The godfather of the Lord.
And as soon as she laid her eyes
On him, she said to him:—
"Listen, John,

St. John!
Hast thou seen
Or hast thou heard
Of my Son,
Of thy Godson,
The Lord of Heaven
And of earth,
And of all the Christians?"
"Holy Mother,
With the sight of my eyes
I have not seen Him,

(67) With the hearing of my ears
I have heard of Him;
That he is in the hands of Jews
And of unbelieving heathens,
For they have come together
And captured Him,
On the 'Great Thursday'
With great fury
And great hatred,
On the field of Pilate
They have pursued Him,
And on a cross of pine wood
They have fastened Him;
A crown of thorns
They have put on His head;
They have girded Him
With a girdle of thistles:
With ash they have fed Him
And they have put on Him
A shirt of nettles.
With bitter wine they have quenched Him;
And they have passed nails
Through his hands and feet.
They threw at Him three hatchets
And three rivers flowed.
And if thou wilt see Him,
Haste thither.
To the fountain of Pilate,
Where the birds are standing,
Taking a mouthful of the water
And giving praise to God.
And when thou reachest there
Wash thy face,
Wash thy arms,
Look towards the east,
Thou art sure to see Him,
Like a luminous morning star."
The holy mother listened to him
And then she took to her journey,
Weeping
And crying,
With a loud voice up to Heaven,
With rears rolling to the ground,
Where the tears fell,
Golden apples grew,
The angels gathered them up
And took them up to heaven.
And wherever her foot trod,

(117) A red ear of corn grew up,
The ear of the corn
Like the ointment of baptism,
The gift of the Lord. . . .

and p. 1125, ll. 170–244.

(170) . . . . And she looked
And she saw,
Her beloved Son,
Like a luminous morning star,
Coming towards her in holiness.
When she saw Him,
She said to him:
" O, you flower of basilic,
O, my Son, just come hither,
And tell me in sooth
Why Thou hast given Thyself over,
Why hast Thou allowed Thyself
To fall into the hands of strangers,
In the land of the heathen ? "
Why hast Thou not sought (to escape)
Why didst Thou not fly (i.e. hide)
On heaven and upon earth,
And under the earth,
Under the roofs of houses,
Through the bunch of flowers of the maidens,
Through the bunch of flowers of the youths,
Through the mangers of the oxen,
Through the folds of the sheep ? "
" O, holy mother,
My beloved mother,
I have not given myself up,
Nor have I left myself (in their hands)
For My sake,
Nor for thy sake,
But for the sake of the whole world;
For until I give Myself up,
Until I have left Myself in the hands of others,
One neither saw
Nor heard,
(218) The voices of birds,
The song of the ploughman,
Nor a sheep with a lamb,
Nor a cow with a calf,
Neither mothers loved their children,
Nor were the fields,
Green with grass,
Nor did the fountains run cold water;
And whoever died,
Went straight to Hades (Iad).
But from this time forth
Torches will be lit in heaven,
And they will never be extinguished.
And they will gather together
And draw near
The birds to their nestlings,
The sheep to their lambs,
The cows to their calfs,
And mothers to their children.
Then will be seen,

The fields green with grass,
And the fountains with cold
water,
And whoever dies will belong
to God."

In another variant, p. 1120, lines 201–165, the search for Jesus is described in the following manner. It agrees much more with the council of the gods and there is no parallel for it in the New Testament apocryphal literature. The odd thing about the council of the gods in the Telibinus legend is that the saints are already there before the Crucifixion, an evident proof of its pagan origin. There are also other parallels in the Roumanian popular literature, such as the stealing of the sun and other incidents found in these old-world legends.

(120) . . . There stands a
white church,
With an altar of pearls
With beads of wax,
With gates of citron wood,
With thresholds of incense.
In the midst of the church
Stands a golden stool,
With legs of silver
Fastened to the ground
But who sits on the stool ?
Sits the holy Nikita
With a short doublet,
With a drawn sword,
In his right hand,
And a white book
In his left hand.
And by the lighted torch
He sits and reads,
And reading he says,
—" Ye holy ones,
Ye Fathers,
Stand still, stand
And listen !
Holy Nicolai,
Holy Archangel Michael,
Holy Grigore
And holy Vasile !

(147) Have you not seen,
Have you not heard
of the Son of Mary
the Pure Mother.
The Lord of Heaven
And earth ? "
" We have not seen Him,
But we have heard
That He has been caught
And put in a barrel of
nails,
They dressed Him in a shirt
of nettles,
And put on His feet red-hot
iron shoes,

They girt Him with a girdle of hawthorn," etc.
(Here follow details of the Passion.)
When the captain of the church
Heard this,
He went down from heaven
Down into Hades
Upon the Cross
Until he reached the Lord Christ.
And when he came to Hades (Iad)
He broke the bolts,
He shattered the iron gates,
And he took
Jesus out of Hades.
And after he had saved Him,
He took His soul,
And carried it up to heaven,
To sit at the right hand of His Father,
Which was most pleasing to him.

M. GASTER.

XVIIITH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS

Secretariat: Musée Ethnographique, Rapenburg 67/69, Leiden, Holland.

FIRST NOTICE

In accordance with the decision of 1st September, 1928, at the last meeting of the XVIIth Congress at Oxford, the XVIIIth Congress will be held in Holland. A Committee has been formed in the university town of Leiden to make preparations for the coming Congress. This Committee has provisionally decided that the XVIIIth Congress will meet at Leiden (the meeting-place of the VIth Congress in 1883) in the week 7th to 12th September, 1931.

The Committee address this first notice to orientalists and oriental societies begging for their collaboration so that the complete success of the Congress may be assured. The Committee will issue a second notice in a few months time, accompanied by a definite invitation to the Congress.

J. H. KRAMERS,
Secretary.

LEIDEN.
May, 1930.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

CASTE IN INDIA. By EMILE SENART. Translated from the French by SIR E. DENISON ROSS, C.I.E. 9 × 6, pp. xxiii + 220. London: Methuen & Co. 1930. Price 8s. 6d. net.

More than thirty years have passed since Emile Senart's scholarly monograph on Caste [1] was first published, and it is a signal tribute to the authoritative nature of the work that a new edition of it in the original language, should have been called for so recently as 1927—a short time before the author's death. Its claim to be regarded as authoritative remains, indeed, unchallenged, and it is doubtful if anything that has been discovered since the book was originally published has added materially to our knowledge of the subject. And if the book is less well known to English readers than it deserves to be, the reason is not far to seek. Emile Senart in spite of—or perhaps because of—his scholarship, wrote in a style that baffled the Englishman equipped with nothing more than an average knowledge of the French language. Happily this obstacle in the way of a wider circulation of the book has at last been removed; for Sir E. Denison Ross, taking advantage of the recent reprint of the original volume, has now given the English reader an admirable version of it in his own tongue. For that service a wide circle of readers should be duly grateful.

Not the least of the merits of the book is that upon a subject which invites discursive writing, the author should have found it possible to compress not only an illuminating picture of the Caste system in operation at the present day, but a closely reasoned examination of its origins, within the compass of a volume of 220 pages of moderate size and excellent print. He gives an interesting account of the working of the Caste system at the present day; but it is in the chain of critical

[1] *Les Castes dans l'Inde*, 1896.

reasoning by which he arrives at his conclusions as to the origin of Caste that his genius is most conspicuously displayed. At the time when the book was first published there was a dominant school of thought composed of Hindus—and of Europeans "who followed in their erring footsteps with regrettable docility"—which, basing itself upon the Brahmanic scriptures, saw in the numerous compartments of the Caste system nothing more than sub-divisions of the four great classes—the *varṇas*—of the ancient Aryan race. In these days when an origin independent of the four classes is generally assigned to caste, his insistence on the folly of confusing caste with class may seem to be a little laboured. But at the time when Senart wrote there was need for such insistence; and if opinion has now crystallized in favour of the view which he then urged, his is the credit for having led the way. What, then, was the origin of a social system which is to be found in no other country in the world? The author considers, only to dismiss, the theory of common occupation put forward by Nesfield and less dogmatically by Ibbetson, and that of race advanced by Risley. His own investigations led to a different conclusion. Briefly he finds the origin of caste in the ancient family constitution which was common to all Aryan peoples, but which in India evolved on lines which differed widely from those which it followed in other lands. With considerable ingenuity he traces back to a common origin the Hindu castes and the Roman city. Even in Rome it was a long time before the restrictions on the freedom of marriage were broken down and the *jus conubii* won by those outside the patrician families. The difference in India was that the restrictions were never broken down, and the *jus conubii*, consequently, never won. Why? Mainly, in the author's view, because the civil and political ideas which led to a slow fusion of the classes in Rome were altogether lacking in India. "In India the theocratic power blocks all evolution in this direction, and India has never attained to the idea either of the State or of the fatherland. The sphere of interest

contracts rather than expands. In the republics of antiquity the class-conception tended to develop into the wider idea of the city; in India it grows more sharply defined and inclines to confine itself within the narrow limits of the caste" (p. 198). But for the full argument recourse must be had to the book itself. In the opening section of the book in which the author deals with caste as it exists to-day, he speaks of the power of the caste Panchayat for dealing with offences, and while he observes that under the strong hand of British administration these tribunals are losing their hold, he also asserts that in its domain it is supreme. A notable example of a caste Panchayat asserting its authority came under my own notice in Calcutta in 1917. Certain merchants had been proved guilty of selling adulterated *ghi*. The case created unusual excitement among the orthodox Hindus. Brahmans to the number of 5,000 assembled on the banks of the Hughli river and through a long, hot August day and far into the night performed the ceremony of purification known as *Prayaschita Homa*. The castes to whom the guilty persons belonged assembled and appointed representatives to form a Panchayat to take charge of the matter. This court sat from 11 a.m. until 8.30 p.m. before issuing its verdict. In the case of the Agarwallas heavy fines, amounting in one case to Rs. 100,000, were imposed, and a number of persons excommunicated for a year, and in the case of the Maheswaris certain members were excommunicated for life. It provided an admirable example of a practice referred to on page 64 of M. Senart's book, namely, that of appointing a special Panchayat to deal with a specific issue, and it showed that caste is still a power in the land.

In conclusion, a word of praise must be accorded to Sir E. Denison Ross and his collaborators for the success with which they have overcome the special difficulties in the way of giving a satisfactory English rendering of M. Senart's book.

ZETLAND.

L'INDE MYSTIQUE AU MOYEN AGE ; HINDOUS ET MUSULMANS. By YUSUF HUSAIN. 10 × 6½, pp. xv + 211. Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve. 1929.

The author carefully disclaims exhaustiveness or a critical treatment of the texts cited and translated; the former would, of course, have been impossible within the limits of some 200 pages, which nevertheless contain a great amount of very interesting history presented in the only convincing way, that of copious and well-selected quotations through which a central thesis is developed; as to the latter, the present reviewer is not in a position to criticize the text and translation of the citations and can only say that the author's recognizable merits give confidence that in this respect too his work is adequate. It is unfortunate that the book is written in a language which will prevent many educated Indians from reading it.

The writer's central thought is that Islamic mysticism, *taṣawwuf*, found its spiritual home in India from a very early time, and that on the other hand Islam was a powerful formative influence in Hindu religious movements from the first contact of the two civilizations. Baldly stated, this perhaps seems obvious; but it is in the concrete exposition of the idea that the value of this study consists. Everyone knows that Kabīr has at least a Muslim name, and that Sikhism stands in close relations with Kabīr (*Kabīrpanth ab bhayo Khālsā*); that Akbar's *Dīn i Ilāhī* was a symptom of what the author of this book more than once calls "the progressive indianization of Islam", and that this tendency often manifested itself in forms which were a scandal to the orthodox. But the present reviewer at any rate knows these astonishing facts much better after reading this book. It may seem sometimes that very little has come of it all: the facts remain, but they remain astonishing; and, for those who look for even a *modus vivendi* (not to speak of a rapprochement), *hanoz Dillī dūr ast.* The author's final words are: "Le jour où le mouvement vers le rapprochement des deux

religions s'affirmera de nouveau, ce ne sera plus sur des bases mystiques." It is not clear what this means; but the rest of the book is an admirable statement of the facts, and will put most readers in a better position to draw whatever (if any) inference is to be drawn from them.

H. N. RANDLE.

THE VISION OF KWANNON SAMA. By B. L. BROUGHTON. 7½ × 5, pp. 154. London: Luzac & Co. 1929.

Mr. Broughton says that the story which he tells is extremely popular among Chinese Buddhists and was related to him by Chinese friends. Is it he or the Chinese narrators who are responsible for the introduction of airships and wireless masts (p. 49) and of "optic glasses" (p. 52)? Not that they matter much so far as the telling of the tale goes: if he had not apologized for them in his Introduction by suggesting that such things "seem to confirm the hypothesis that our universe is curved in a higher space, and that all arts and sciences are re-discovered again in the perpetual recurrence of evolution and involution", they need not have troubled any reader. And, for those readers who are not attracted by this example of Mr. Broughton's standpoint, it would be better to skip the Introduction and get on with the tale. For the tale is a good one, and was worth telling in English. It is the myth of the feminine *avatāra* of Avalokiteśvara (Kwannon) a Bodhisattva who embodies the Buddhist ideal of saintly womanhood. She was a Princess who lived once upon a time in a mysterious land (which Mr. Broughton is "irresistibly tempted to identify with the sunken land of Lemuria") and after suffering cruel wrongs from a tyrant father gave her hand and eye to cure him of the ills that his wickedness had brought upon him, thereby attaining not her herself alone but for her father and other relatives the status of Bodhisattva, so that they all lived happily ever after. The tale belongs to the Sukhāvatī cycle of ideas, and a great part of its interest is that it is a reflection

of the perfervid imaginings of the joys of Paradise by which the Buddhists of the Greater Vehicle compensated (with what degree of consistency can of course be doubted) for an otherwise complete condemnation of life. How much of the imagining is Mr. Broughton's and how much comes from his Chinese sources it is difficult to say. That is the drawback of a book of this kind.

H. N. RANDLE.

FALLACIES AND THEIR CLASSIFICATION ACCORDING TO THE EARLY HINDU LOGIC. By STEFAN STASIAK. Rocznik Orjentalistyczny Tom. vi. pp. 191–8. Lwow. 1929.

The principal interest of M. Stasiak's paper is in the account which he gives of the passage in the *Nyāya-vārttika* (on *Nyāya-sūtra* I, ii,4) in which Uddyotakara develops elaborately the formal syllogistic set out by Diṅnāga in his *Hetu-cakra* or " wheel of reasons ". This " wheel " is a mere application of the *trairūpya* or three canons of syllogism which were first explicitly formulated in Vaiśesika-Bauddha logic manuals, although they can be read into (e.g.) *Nyāya-sūtra* V, i, 34 and Vātsyāyana's *bhāṣya* thereon.

The phrase *ubhayathā bhāvāt* in that passage easily formalizes itself into the *sapakṣe bhāvo vipakṣe 'bhāvaḥ* of the *trairūpya*. And Sugiura says that in fact the *trairūpya* doctrine was attributed to " Sockmock ", that is Akṣapāda the author of the *Nyāya-sūtra*, by Buddhist logicians. But the truth seems to be that the genuine Naiyāyika *sampradāya*, which Uddyotakara set out to defend against *kutārkikāḥ* (Buddhist interlopers into the śāstra such as Diṅnāga), never fell a victim to formalism. Uddyotakara never tires of attacking the *trairūpya*; and, although his criticisms are invariably directed against the inconsistency in the formulation, the inference from the fact that he does not attempt to formulate his own " Canons " is surely that he rejects the whole spirit of formalism in which such formulæ originate. Why then

does he devote a long section to the elaboration of a scheme of syllogistic "moods" which M. Stasiak can compare to "an abacus or a logical machine"? If it is true that the genuine Naiyāyika is not a formalist, what is the point of tabulating forty-eight possible forms of the syllogism, when even the Bauddha was content with only nine? The solution of this difficulty is, I believe, that the whole passage is in the nature of an *argumentum ad hominem* meant to show that the Bauddha has failed even to exploit his own position satisfactorily. Uddyotakara argues that Diṅnāga's application of the *trairūpya* in his *hetu-cakra* is at once inconsistent and inadequate; inconsistent, because he does not see that the example (sound is non-eternal because a product) which he gives of one of his two types of valid syllogism is on Buddhist principles *kevalānvayin* (everything being non-eternal for the Buddhist, so that a *vipakṣa*, a case of an eternal thing, cannot be adduced); and inadequate because, in addition to the failure to note the various forms of *kevalānvayin* and *kevalavyatirekin*, the inclusion of which would increase the number of possible moods from nine to sixteen, he has ignored the threefold possibility in the relation of *hetu* to *pakṣa* (All S is M, Some S is M, No S is M) which multiplies the sixteen moods by three.

It follows that I disagree with M. Stasiak's view that Uddyotakara's teaching is opposed to that of Gautama, as also with his statement (so far as it applies to Uddyotakara) that the Naiyāyikas "not only fought their opponents, but plundered their armoury". If Uddyotakara borrowed Diṅnāga's weapon for the moment, it was, I conceive, for no other purpose than to demolish Diṅnāga with it. Nor do I agree that "In India, one of its greatest, if not its very greatest philosopher Dignāga was the first to unmask logical fallacy". It seems to me that Uddyotakara (incidentally, M. Stasiak's denomination of him as "the author of the Uddyota" must be questioned) as a great exponent of Nyāya is teaching a profounder logical doctrine than the formalism which Buddhist

(or Vaiśeṣika ?) logicians evolved after plundering their opponents' armoury.

These are matters in which (especially in view of Uddyotakara's constant habit of wrapping up his positive teaching in polemic) difference of opinion is inevitable, and disagreement does not mean failure to appreciate. M. Stasiak has done a useful service in being the first to draw attention to this section of the *Nyāya-vārttika*, and his able paper is a contribution of value to the study of the Nyāya. His adaptation of the A E I of western logical symbolism to the expression of *vyāpakatva*, *ekadeśa-vṛttitva* and *avṛttitva* (of *hetu* in *pakṣa*, *sapakṣa* and *vipakṣa*), with the addition of a dash to express absence of *sapakṣa* or *vipakṣa*, is an ingenious device for the notation of Indian syllogistic. Thus he uses A A A to symbolize an argument in which the *hetu* is *pakṣavyāpaka*, *sapakṣavyāpaka* and *vipakṣavyāpaka*. This is convenient, and worthy of general adoption.

H. N. RANDLE.

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1. LA PEINTURE INDIENNE à l'époque des Grands Moghols. Par IVAN STCHOUKINE, Docteur ès Lettres. 13 × 10, pp. 214 + ii, 100 plates, 31 figures in text. Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux, 1929. Frs. 350.
2. LES MINIATURES INDIENNES de l'époque des Grands Moghols au Musée du Louvre. Par IVAN STCHOUKINE, Docteur ès Lettres. 10 × 8, pp. 106 + ii, 20 plates. Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux, 1929. Frs. 100.

These two books will be of great service to all students of Indian painting. In *La Peinture Indienne*—which deserves a larger notice than can be given here—M. Stchoukine treats his subject comprehensively, except that he deliberately omits questions of iconography, and also hardly touches on the difficult matter of attributions.

The book is arranged in three parts. In the first is an admirably documented history of the development of Indian

painting, with an estimation of its place in the national culture through the ages. In the second the author analyses its qualities under the three headings of "La Nature", "Les Animaux", and "L'Homme", giving separate consideration, within each heading, to the conventions of ancient and medieval Indian, Persian, Mughal, and provincial Indian art. The third part consists of a synthetic account of "Les lois des ensembles dans la peinture indienne", and here also the comparison is carried on between European, Persian, and Indian practice, in composition, colour, and technique.

The main conclusions of the book are: First, that the influence of Persia on Mughal painting was not, in essentials, a profound one; secondly, that, on the contrary, European influence was much greater than is usually admitted; thirdly, that, nevertheless, the essential character of Mughal painting derived from indigenous sources. M. Stchoukine holds that the later history of Mughal and provincial painting shows a regular reciprocal approach, the two combining in the eighteenth century in one main style, which subsequently shows a steady return to ancient forms, local schools being merely variations on the main style. The hard and fast distinction between Mughal and Rajput painting, he thinks, cannot be sustained, depending as it does on "subject", not on artistic form.

The book is highly original, both in method and in some of its conclusions, and is clearly the result of long research and independent thought. M. Stchoukine has an interesting and lucid style, and a highly logical mind. One sometimes suspects, indeed, that he is led too far by his logical scheme, as, for instance, when he tends to depreciate the compositional qualities of Persian drawing, and to accuse it, comprehensively, of a dislike of symmetry, which is not by any means, at all periods, one of its characteristics. But he has given us an admirable book. Perhaps the greatest of its many merits is the careful analysis—the fullest which we have seen—of technical features, finely illustrated by diagrams.

There is a good bibliography, and the reproductions reach a high standard.

The Louvre Collection of Indian drawings consists of 160 examples, of which those of the Mughal school form the majority. By no means all of these are of the first quality, but the collection, taken as a whole, is an extremely fine one ; it is also representative, except for sixteenth century work. M. Stchoukine's catalogue is a model of conciseness, the descriptions, colour notes, and references being all that could be desired, acute, scholarly, and to the point.

Among the most interesting of the illustrations are the portraits of Mīr Muṣavvir, of I'tibār Khān (by Bichitr), of the Emperor Jahāngīr holding the portrait of his father Akbar (by Abu'l-Ḥasan), and of Shaikh Ḥusain Jāmī and an attendant (by Gorardhan); with a remarkable page of calligraphy, containing in the margin, among other curious features, a copy of a Dürer etching.

M. Stchoukine, in his introduction, gives a description of the origin of the collection, of which the nucleus came out of the spoils of Napoleon's victorious campaign in 1806, and of its subsequent enrichment, in modern times, by important additions, especially by the splendid bequest, in 1916, of M. Marteau. A summary of the various works and schools embodies several valuable critical appreciations.

J. V. S. Wilkinson.

The White Mutiny. By Sir Alexander Cardew, K.C.S.I. 9 × 6, pp. 264. Constable. 12*s*. 6*d*. net.

The author's main object in recalling an almost forgotten episode in the history of the British in India appears to have been to obtain tardy justice for Sir George Barlow, temporary Governor-General of India, and Governor of Madras, against whom, as he observes, the judgment of history has gone. This unfavourable verdict is based on two counts : his policy as Governor-General, and his handling of the serious misconduct

of the Officers of the Madras Army. As regards the first point, the author claims that Sir George Barlow rightly considered that he was bound to follow the instructions which Lord Cornwallis had brought out from home. This perhaps rather ignores the point that Barlow himself had been a strong supporter of Lord Wellesley's forward policy. Taking the most favourable view of Barlow's conduct, it would justify the somewhat cynical view of Wellesley's latest biographer, Mr. P. E. Roberts, that Barlow "had the civil servant's characteristic virtue of being able to adapt himself to any policy dictated by his chief". The least friendly opinion of his policy is that, in the words of Thornton, "he manifested a degree of moral hardihood commanding admiration, if from no other cause, at least from its extreme rarity." The abandonment by Barlow of the Rajputana States to the cruel mercies of the Marathas and Pindaris was obviously open to the reproach, not unknown even at the present day, that temporary peace in India is purchased by the sacrifice and desertion of our friends. It is, however, with Barlow's conduct in Madras that Sir Alexander Cardew is principally concerned. It is easily shown that the Coast Army was in a thoroughly bad state when Sir George Barlow came to Madras. He was in no way responsible for the creation of this unsatisfactory condition, but the real criterion of his actions is the manner in which he dealt with it, and we do not think that Sir Alexander Cardew is likely to obtain a reversal of the verdict of the historians, which in this respect also has gone heavily against Barlow. The author admits that the action taken by Barlow's Government against the officers who had signed in a ministerial capacity the improper General Order of the Commander-in-Chief was entirely unjustified. As the Governor-General, Lord Minto, said in a private letter it was a "most unfortunate and impolitic measure". It greatly increased the simmering discontent of the Company's Army officers: yet it is doubtful whether that discontent would have burst into flame but for the Governor's further action.

On the 1st May the Government suspended four officers of high rank, and removed eight others from their command, on the ground of their having signed a memorial to the Governor-General. Sir Alexander Cardew does not notice the assertion of Wilson, the historian of the Madras Army, that the intention to forward the memorial had been abandoned before the action of Government was taken. In any case, no effort was made to allow the officers, several of whom protested their innocence, to make any defence, and the orders of Government were inconsistent with Barlow's assurances to the Governor-General that matters were settling down. There can be little doubt that the order of 1st May was the final spark applied to the conflagration, the materials for which had been long accumulating. There can, of course, be only one opinion of the mad and criminal folly of the officers themselves. Sir Alexander Cardew might well have quoted the considered view of it which Wellington found time to write from Badajoz to Sir John Malcolm; nor was the latter backward in his description of the insanity of the officers. Sir Alexander is very severe on Malcolm's conduct, and practically ascuses him of disloyalty towards Barlow. It may be admitted that Malcolm relied too much on his personal influence and on his powers of diplomacy, and that the terms which he proposed should be offered were dangerously near to surrender. But it is fair to him to point out that he undertook the mission to Masulipatam, where the disaffected Company's European regiment lay, with great reluctance, and that Barlow must have been aware what line Malcolm intended to take with the mutineers. Malcolm, moreover, went to the point of greatest danger; he kept the European Regiment, the rank and file of which were as disaffected as the officers, quiet, and his letters to Hyderabad admittedly had a great effect in inducing the officers at that station to submit, and thereby causing the whole movement to collapse. Nor was Sir George Barlow guiltless of other errors; he sent an obviously unsuitable officer to command the European

Regiment, and he delayed the coming of Lord Minto, a delay to which Wilson attributes much of the insurrection. The test which Barlow caused to be administered to the officers was doubtless a legitimate measure; yet it must have been a cruel necessity which compelled so good an officer as Colonel James Welsh, along with 1,300 of the 1,450 officers of the Army, to refuse to sign it. We may allow Sir George Barlow his full measure of praise for the firm courage with which he met the mutiny; but the manner in which matters were tranquillized after the arrival of Lord Minto would suggest that more judicious action might have prevented the outbreak, just as the equally mutinous combination of the Bengal officers in 1796, to which curiously enough Sir Alexander Cardew does not refer, was successfully met. The author attributes the recall of Sir George Barlow to the influence of the discharged officers and to the system of a shifting body of merchants in Leadenhall Street. There must, however, have been other reasons which lost Barlow the favour of the directors whose policy he had been so careful to follow. There were the numerous disputes with the non-official Europeans, in most of which Barlow was doubtless in the right. There may also have been the ill-success of his efforts to introduce the Bengal Revenue System into another Presidency. But, above all, there was Barlow's personal unpopularity. Lord Minto observed that he was "hated, indeed, execrated, though unjustly". The Duke of Wellington once observed, of the appointment of a nobleman to the Governorship of Bombay, that, though his ability was doubtful, "his good manners will keep people in good humour and in order." There was no doubt about Barlow's ability; but unfortunately equally little of the effect of his manners. Although we do not think that the author will upset the verdict of history as recorded by Kaye and others, he has produced a very interesting book.

P. R. C.

THE DUTCH IN CEYLON. By R. G. ANTHONISZ, I.S.O. Vol. I. 8½ × 6, pp. 198. Colombo: C.A.C. Press, 1929.

This volume of 189 pages represents an attempt to supply for the general reader "a connected and complete, yet concise, account of the Dutch occupation of Ceylon, which extended from A.D. 1640 to 1796—a period of 156 years". For this task the late Mr. Anthonisz, once Archivist to the Ceylon Government, was peculiarly fitted by his intimate knowledge of the records and by his careful and painstaking scholarship. It is satisfactory to learn that vol. ii is to be published shortly, as the period following the fall of Jaffna in 1658 to the collapse of the Dutch rule in 1796 has never been treated as a whole in a really complete manner.

The volume under review begins with an account of the formation of the Dutch East India Company, and then proceeds with the history of the Dutch in Ceylon from their first appearance in 1602 until the fall of the last Portuguese stronghold in 1658. The last two chapters deal with the Dutch Colonization in the Island and their Civil Establishments.

The work is marred by the reproduction of the Dutch spelling of local names, sometimes almost impossible of recognition by the general reader; and it would have been better had the Portuguese personal and other names been given in their correct form. In spite of this defect, however, the book with its maps and illustrations cannot fail to be of use to the public. The list of authorities, given at the head of each chapter, enables the student to go to the original documents without undue research.

H. W. CODRINGTON.

ÜBER DIE SEMITISCHEN UND NICHT INDISCHEN GRUNDLAGEN DER MALAIISCH-POLYNESISCHEN KULTUR. Von ENGELBERTUS E. W. GS. SCHRÖDER. Buch II: Das Verhältnis der Austronesischen zu den Semitischen Sprachen. 11½ × 9, pp. 93–210 + ii. Göttingen, Medan printed, 1928.

The thesis of Heer Schröder's book is that the Austronesian languages, which extend from Madagascar on the west to

Easter Island on the east, have been at a very early period of history profoundly influenced by a primitive form of Semitic speech, an "Ausgangssprache" which "united in itself the different characters" of the tongues known to us as Arabic, Hebrew, Aramaic, etc., and which had impressed strongly marked Semitic features on the vocabulary, morphology, and syntax of the Austronesian languages. In itself, this hypothesis is conceivable (with some reserves, to which we shall refer); the question is whether Heer Schröder has demonstrated it.

The philologer who seeks to trace the derivation of words needs, if his results are to attain any certainty, ample documentation by which he can trace phonetic and other changes step by step. In the absence of such evidence his theories are apt to become mere speculations. Even the speech of highly civilised peoples, fixed by cultural conventions and literature, undergoes in course of time extraordinary alterations. Without previous data, who could imagine for instance that the modern Persian *gul* is from the same original as our *rose*? Fortunately, in dealing with the Indo-European and Semitic groups we have abundance of records, so that within each of them philology stands on fairly safe ground. But with Austronesian languages the case is different. No very ancient documents of any of them exist, and most of them are only known in modern forms. The difficulty of comparison is further complicated by the fact that these tongues are peculiarly liable to sporadic modifications such as metathesis, insertion and omission of consonants, reduplication, etc., which in the absence of stabilising traditions such as are furnished by civilisation have often changed their words beyond recognition. Hence the inquirer who is so daring as to essay a comparison of Semitic with Austronesian tongues should first seek (as a few scholars have done) for some lines of historical development within the latter which will enable him to distinguish old from new, and supply some relatively early forms and types which with due reserve may be compared

with Semitic. Judged from this standpoint Heer Schröder' work is very unsatisfactory, and his results wholly uncon vincing.

It is *per se* very improbable that Semitic could have seriousl modified the morphological and syntactical structure o Austronesian. Experience suggests the contrary: for example we see that Malay, after being for centuries in close touc with Arabic and absorbing from it a large number of words has been quite unaffected by it in regard to structure. Ou initial doubts on this head are not set at rest by Heer Schröder' treatment. Many of the parallels on which he insists with certainty emphasised by copious use of capital letters ar probably only fortuitous coincidences, while many othe equations advanced by him seem to us arbitrary and forced A typical example of the latter is his derivation of Fij *dukadukal* from Heb. *qadhar*, "via **qadăl, *daqăl*"; if suc statements are to be accepted on an *ipse dixit*, philolog ceases to be a science. That there are in some cases strikin similarities between the two groups of speech may be granted but it remains to be proved that these features as they appea in Austronesian are (*a*) essentially unchanged since the tim of the alleged contact, and (*b*) not mere coincidences. Likenes of forms does not always prove identity of origins. Th resources of human speech are limited, so that coincidence often occur between unrelated languages. Thus interrogative are used as relatives in a good many languages, Indo-Europea as well as Semitic; the Austronesian pers. pron. 3 sing. *iya* etc., might be compared with IE. *i-* as well as with Semiti *hiya*, and the Fiji interrogative *cei* reminds one of IE. *qi-* neither parallel proving anything.

If we did not know their antecedents, we might make ou a beautiful case to prove that the Keltic languages have bee as profoundly modified by Semitic as Heer Schröder believe Austronesian to have been. For example, in Welsh we hav the pronouns *hwn* "this" (masc.) = Arab. *huwa* and *hi* "she" = Arab. *hiya*; we have plurals in *-on* and *-i*, and a prefi

ym- giving to active verbs a middle or passive sense; most wonderful of all, we have the genitive denoted simply by position after the leading substantive, while in such constructions the definite article is not allowed before the first member, e.g. *meibion Israel* = Arab. *banī Isrā'īl* "children of Israel" or "*the* children of Israel". Such resemblances may be left to the supporters of the British-Israel doctrine and their congeners; but they are useful as awful examples of the dangers which beset philologers who stray into uncharted paths.

Another feature of the work that invites criticism is the imperfect knowledge of Semitic which it displays and the unscientific manner in which this side of the subject is handled. There are many mistakes in transliteration of words (e.g. the monstrous "*mĭ-dĕbbar*" on p. 154 and "*măchăppîs*" on p. 159). Still more serious is the assumption running throughout the book that the proto-Semitic which is supposed to have influenced Austronesian contained all the specific forms of the classical languages quoted, which is as if one should assert that Greek *λέγειν*, Lat. *dicere*, and Sanskrit *kathayitum* already existed full-fledged in Indo-European. Very possibly a certain number of Semitic words may have been absorbed by Austronesian and subjected to its peculiar processes of phonetic and morphological change; but that this borrowing was of immense antiquity and that it profoundly altered the character of Austronesian is a thesis which, in my opinion, Herr Schröder has failed to prove, in spite of the great learning and industry which he has applied to it.

L. D. BARNETT.

Reviews on Indonesian and other Subjects by C. O. Blagden

1. The Effect of Western Influence on Native Civilisations in the Malay Archipelago. Edited by Dr. B. Schrieke. 10½ × 7, pp. vii + 247. Batavia: G. Kolff & Co. 1929.

This is a collection of eleven articles, preceded by a brief Introduction from the general editor, that have been published in pursuance of a resolution of the Third Pan-Pacific Science Congress (Tokyo, 1926). They appear under the imprimatur of the Royal Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences, and deal with a variety of subjects such as administration, hygiene and ethnography, economics, language, law, etc., with reference to several different portions of the Dutch East Indies. Needless to say, they embody some very valuable and interesting information, primarily concerning the Dutch colonial empire but also of importance to other nations that have colonies. It is to be regretted that the English version of these articles, though for the most part quite good, is sometimes not as clear as could have been desired. But most English readers will readily overlook such minor deficiencies in consideration of being able to read the work in their mother tongue.

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2. Oudheden van Bali. I. Het oude rijk van Pedjeng. Text. Door Dr. W. F. Stutterheim. 10 × 6½, pp. 216. Singaradja, Bali: Kirtya Liefrinck-van der Tuuk. 1929.

Though the island of Bali became a place of refuge for Javanese Hinduism when Islam finally prevailed in Java, it had been Hindu for many centuries before that time. This point is illustrated in the present work, the first of the publications of the Kirtya Liefrinck-van der Tuuk foundation, which gives the results of the author's investigations in an important centre of southern Bali. After an introductory chapter on the historical and legendary data and the

topography of the district from the archæological point of view, the work proceeds to deal with the inscriptions and monuments found. Of the former some are in Sanskrit, others in Old Balinese or Old Javanese, but unfortunately they are for the most part fragmentary. The chapter on the monuments goes into details and runs to 96 pages; but it will be easier to appreciate it when the promised volume of illustrations has appeared. A final chapter contains the author's provisional conclusions under the heads of history, palæography, topography, religion, and art, with special reference to the period between the end of the ninth century and the middle of the fourteenth.

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3. THE RACES OF JAVA. By DR. D. J. H. NYÈSSEN. 10½ × 7, pp. viii + 122 + vii. 25 sketches and 9 maps. Weltevreden: G. Kolff & Co. 1929.

This is No. IV of the publications of the Indisch Comité voor Wetenschappelijke Onderzoekingen, and it was prepared with a view to the Fourth Pan-Pacific Science Congress held last year. The sub-title modestly calls it " a few remarks towards the acquisition of some preliminary knowledge concerning the influence of geographic environment on the physical structure of the Javanese ". But it is much more than that, for a good part of it is based on the careful examination of a large number of individuals in selected areas; and in connection with some of these a number of statistics are given. The sub-title applies mainly to the earlier chapters. Chapter ii discusses the position of the Malay Archipelago from the point of view of its geographical relations with other countries, and stress is laid on the effect of seasonal winds and ocean currents in facilitating movements by sea in those regions, which on Map II are shown as extending from east Africa to central Polynesia. Chapter iii deals more specifically with Java, and Chapter iv with the general principles of the investigations conducted there.

The conclusions provisionally arrived at are that in Java one can discern three racial strains, which may be termed Eastern (or South Mongolian), Western (or Dravido-Australian), and Meridional (which seems to have certain African characteristics); and that the first-named strain probably reached Java after the other two.

A bibliographical list and an index add to the value of the work; and the sketches, which are mostly line drawings of heads, help to illustrate the text.

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4. De Remonstrantie van W. Geleynssen de Jongh. Uitgegeven door Professor Dr. W. Caland. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xv + 127, 1 plate, 1 map. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff. 1929.

This work constitutes No. XXXI of the publications of the Linschoten-Vereeniging, which brought out its first number in 1909. Most of its issues are accounts of voyages in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; but the one under review is of a different type. It is a description of things in general in India about 1625, with special reference to Gujerat. Besides a good deal of information about matters political, topographical, and economic (e.g. textiles, and the trade of western India with the Malay Archipelago, the Persian Gulf, Arabia, Europe, etc.), the work contains detailed accounts of various Indian communities, such as Muslims, Hindus (particularly Jains), and Parsis. Considering the time when it was written, this may fairly be called a very good piece of work, the writer having been a servant of the Dutch East India Company, who went to the Spice Islands before he was twenty, and to western India some ten years later. The work has been well edited and produced.

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5. LE JAPONAIS ET LES LANGUES AUSTROASIATIQUES : Étude de vocabulaire comparé. Par NOBUHIRO MATSUMOTO. (= Austro-Asiatica, documents et travaux publiés sous la direction de Jean Przyluski, tome I.) $9\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, pp. x + 117. Paris : Paul Geuthner. 1928.

As the title indicates, this is the first volume of a series in which it is proposed to study matters connected with certain peoples and languages of South-Eastern Asia. In the preface M. J. Przyluski explains that " austroasiatique " without the hyphen refers to a certain group of languages, while with the hyphen the word is to be taken in its etymological sense. Personally I think it would have been better to follow the lead of Father W. Schmidt, who invented the term, and use Austroasiatic for the linguistic group that includes Mon, Khmer, Muṇḍa, etc., Austronesian for the other group that up to his time had been termed Malayo-Polynesian, and Austric to include both groups. I agree with M. Przyluski that the idea of the relation between them is a purely linguistic hypothesis. It is one which I accept in the same way that one accepts the theory of evolution, in one or other of its forms, because, as at present advised, it seems to be the best explanation of the observed facts.

But that does not imply a very close connection between the two linguistic groups, whose mutual relation was compared years ago by the late Professor H. Kern to that which is generally believed to exist between Hamitic and Semitic. The use of the word Austroasiatic to cover both of them strikes me, therefore, as being misplaced and unfortunate, because it tends to cover up very considerable differences. The relation between these two groups is in fact a very complex matter. Probably of remotely common origin, they must have been separated for a very long time to have evolved on such divergent lines. But some members of each group in much more recent times came again into contact with some of the other group, so that there has been mutual borrowing.

Out of the 113 sets of words which Dr. Matsumoto has compared with Japanese ones, rather more than half appear to be Austroasiatic, rather more than a fifth Austronesian, and rather less than a quarter common to both groups. This is in itself a somewhat remarkable proportion. It has long been surmised that a certain strain in the composition of the Japanese people came from the Malay Archipelago, and Dr. Matsumoto points out that physical and cultural anthropology, as well as comparative mythology, give some support to the idea. Moreover it is well known that the aborigines of Formosa are Austronesian, and from that island to the Lu-Chu (or Ryu-Kyu) archipelago is but a step. *A priori*, therefore, Austronesian linguistic influence is probable enough. But the case is quite different with Austroasiatic, properly so called. Except in the Nicobar islands, the populations speaking Austroasiatic languages are confined to the mainland, and nowhere do they approach at all closely to Japan. It is all the more curious that this linguistic comparison should attribute to them a preponderant influence.

The author in his Introduction makes it quite clear that he does not claim for Japanese a common origin with the two southern language groups concerned, and is at some pains to reject the thesis of Heer Van Hinloopen Labberton that Japanese is an Austronesian form of speech. His task, therefore, is reduced to the identification of loan-words, and that raises some difficult questions. What degree of apparent agreement in form and meaning, and how many cases of such agreement, suffice to support the conclusion that all or any of the words in question are genuine loan-words and not mere examples of fortuitous coincidence? No responsible scholar in these days would identify the Malay *mati* "dead" with the Arabic *maut* or the Sanskrit *mṛtyu*. Japanese admits no final consonant, except *n*, and consequently part of the evidence is often inevitably missing. One cannot reject offhand the possibility of such proposed equations as *wata* "entrails" = *wätaṅ* "belly", *kimo* "intestines, liver" = *kömat* "gall-

bladder ", *pozo* (a hypothetical form inferred from an actual *hozo*) " navel " = *pusat* " navel ", *kami* " deity " = *kamoit* " demon ". But possibility is not certainty.

It must be admitted that in some cases the agreement is very close, e.g. *ta*, *te* = *tai*, *ti* " hand ", *ame* = *amih* " rain " *sawa* " swamp " = *sawah* " paddy-field ", *nomu* = *inum*, " drink ", *tomona-fu* " accompany " = *těman* " companion ". But these are hardly typical of the whole. In many instances there is really little or no resemblance, e.g. *nuka* = *kěnin* " forehead ", *mi* (*mu*) = *tuboh* " body ", *kokoro* = *grês*, " heart ". The attempt to equate the Japanese *muki* " direction, front ", both with the Mon-Khmer *muh* " nose " and the Malay *muka* " face " seems to me hopeless. The latter is certainly a loan-word from Sanskrit, and the case is not helped by the suggestion, borrowed from M. J. Bloch, that *mukha* may be of Dravidian origin. That would not make it Austroasiatic or Austronesian. It may be noted that Old Javanese, though it has no native aspirates, preserves the spelling *mukha*; and Mon has the word in the form *muk* " face ", side by side with its native *muh* " nose ".

The author is too fond of combining in one group words which are obviously unconnected with one another. For example he compares a hypothetical Japanese word *kapo* (inferred from an actual *kaho*) " face " with such forms as *kapō* " face ", *kâpo* " cheek ", found in certain aboriginal dialects of the Malay Peninsula and rather doubtfully supported by some Austroasiatic parallels. He then throws in the entirely unconnected word *pipi*, which in a number of Austronesian languages means " cheek ". Another example is *mi* " fruit " = Mon *me* " seed, numeral auxiliary for fruits ", followed by a string of Austronesian forms such as *buh*, *boh*, *buah* " fruit ", which can have no bearing on the matter. It is also doubtful whether the Japanese word can be fairly compared with the Mon one, for the latter, though it may be pronounced *me*, is spelt *ma*. But in these comparisons vowel quality does not count for much.

Dr. Matsumoto has produced an arguable case; but as to whether he had proved it, opinions will differ, and I confess that I am not yet entirely convinced. After all, when the necessary deductions, on the lines indicated above, have been made from his evidence, the remainder will not amount to a very large percentage of the Japanese vocabulary. Will it be enough to exclude the possibility of fortuitous coincidence? That seems to be a point for a mathematician to consider. One thing is quite clear. If there has been genuine borrowing, it cannot have been from Austroasiatic alone, for some of the Austronesian parallels are equally plausible.

From the point of view of scholars who may desire to verify the author's materials, and who may not themselves be familiar with the literature, it is unfortunate that he gives no bibliographical list of his obviously numerous sources for the Austroasiatic and Austronesian words he cites. There are, however, two useful indexes; and it should be added that in his Introduction he has given a good deal of interesting information on the various attempts that have been made in the past to link up Japanese with other forms of speech.

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6. Four Faces of Siva. By Robert J. Casey. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, pp. 270, 32 plates, 4 plans in the text, 2 maps in the covers. London: George C. Harrap & Co., Ltd. 1929. 12*s*. 6*d*. net.

Books about Angkor and its environment threaten to become embarrassingly numerous. The work under review is pleasantly illustrated with a number of good photographs and it is on the whole readable enough, though the author indulges in too much "fine writing" and mystery making. For example, Chapter i is a lurid account of a European explorer in the Cambojan forests, who scouts the tales of hidden cities and records his scepticism in his notebook. Three days later he finds himself at Angkor. "And this," says Mr. Casey, "for all that it is a hearsay story, reconstructed on the

dusty foundations of a tradition so often repeated that it partakes of the character of a myth, must be very nearly an historical recital of the manner in which Mouhot, the French naturalist, came to Angkor and brought back to the world the amazing puzzle of the Khmer civilization."

This conclusion is not confirmed by Mouhot's own words in a letter written on 20th December, 1859, at Pinhalú, a place not many miles above Phnom Penh, between the latter and the great lake: "I arrived last evening at Pinhalú, in perfect health, and am now about to go northward to visit the famous ruins of Ongcor and then return to Bangkok" (*Travels in Indo-China, Cambodia and Laos* (1864), vol. ii, p. 248). How, after that, could Mouhot have doubted the existence of the ruins ?

The author, having studied Angkor under French tuition, gives us French transcriptions, such as Fou Nan, Djambou-dvipa, Tcheou-Ta-Quan, and Groudas (but on another page Garonda, probably a printer's error). This habit results in spellings like Paramacevera and Arya Deca, which conform to no system. Other misprints are Pellot (for Pelliot), Saint Chapelle, and Phimeneakas (for Phimeanakas). "Rice-paddies," for paddy-fields, is not English; and I wonder who nowadays supposes that the Rāmāyaṇa was written some time before 2000 B.C. Chapter xxviii deals, rather sketchily, with Javanese temples.

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7. OUTLINES OF THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF THE TIMOR-ARCHIPELAGO. By DR. H. J. T. BIJLMER. With an Appendix by Dr. phil. et med. K. Saller. Photographs taken by Mrs. C. Bijlmer-Wepster. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7$, pp. 234, xcix plates, 3 illustrations in the text, 2 maps (1 in the covers). Weltevreden: G. Kolff & Co. 1929.

This work is No. III of the "Publicaties van het Indisch Comité voor Wetenschappelijke Onderzoekingen, Batavia", the preceding numbers having been devoted to expeditions to

Sumba and east-central Borneo respectively. The area represented in the present volume is the one where the brown race of western Indonesia meets the much darker Negroid types allied to the Papuans, and gives rise to a variety of blends which have been carefully measured and photographed. They are well described in this book, which embodies all the evidence, statistical and pictorial, furnished by the examination of a large number of individuals. The information, inevitably somewhat technical, is conveyed in an intelligible and interesting manner, and the photographic illustrations are extremely good. Appendix II gives the full details of the measurements made. Appendix I, by Dr. Saller, is in German, and is concerned with specimens of hair from the same region.

8. TANTRI, DE MIDDEL-JAVAANSCHE PAÑCATANTRA-BEWERKING. Door C. HOOYKAAS. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{3}{4}$. pp. 135, 2 folding tables, 9 tail-piece illustrations. Leiden : A. Vros. 1929.

This Leyden Ph.D. thesis is a valuable contribution to the literature of a big subject, namely the extension and distribution of versions of the Pañcatantra in various countries. It is mainly concerned with three medieval Javanese recensions, which the author has summarized in considerable detail and compared in parallel columns with Siamese and Laotian versions. All these have a great deal in common and may be said to constitute a distinct group ; curiously enough, they begin with a frame-story resembling to some extent the frame-story of the *Arabian Nights*. It appears also that this group has special points of agreement with a Canarese version of the Pañcatantra by Durgasiṁha.

The author also refers to the relations between the Pañcatantra and the "Stories of a Parrot", which have likewise enjoyed a widespread popularity ; and in his first chapter he has collected a large number of references to Pañcatantra literature.

9. FESTBUNDEL UITGEGEVEN DOOR HET KONINKLIJK BATAVIAASCH GENOOTSCHAP VAN KUNSTEN EN WETENSCHAPPEN BIJ GELEGENHEID VAN ZIJN 150 JARIG BESTAAN, 1778–1928. Deel I. 10½ × 7, pp. ii + 429, 41 plates. Weltevreden: G. Kolff & Co. 1929.

In April, 1928, the oldest of the existing Asiatic Societies celebrated at Batavia its 150th anniversary and in that connection it has issued this first volume of a commemorative work, to which twenty-seven scholars have contributed articles in four different languages. Dutch, as is natural, predominates with 19, German has 4, and French and English each have 2. For the most part the articles deal with matters closely concerning the Dutch East Indies, and include such subjects as linguistics, literature, archæology and art, history, law, music, folk-lore, etc. Among articles not particularly connected with the Dutch East Indies may be mentioned one by Professor Shuzo Kure on Von Siebold and his influence on modern Japanese civilization and another by Mr. A. K. Coomaraswamy on certain Indian sculptural motifs. M. Gabriel Ferrand's article on the Malagasy language, which in spite of its geographical position rightly belongs to the Indonesian group, and an important article by Herr Otto Dempwolff on the Austronesian words and formatives in Polynesian have also something more than a purely local interest; and the same may be said of Heer J. C. van Eerde's article on the kind of barter (mentioned in the *Periplus*, etc.) where the parties do not meet, and Professor J. P. Kleiweg de Zwaan's contribution on the sanctity of feet and footprints (and of artificial representations of them), and likewise of other things connected with the body, particularly of eminent persons. The discussion on these subjects starts with a special reference to the island of Nias, but a number of parallels from elsewhere are introduced. Mr. J. Kunst's article on Sundanese vocal music will be of interest to such musicians as study their subject on broad comparative lines; and Indian archaeologists will find congenial matter in M. G.

Coedès' account of a Buddhist statuette, Heer Th. van Erp's article on the encasing of the base of Barabudur, and Heer de B. Haan's account of one of the temples of the group known as Chaṇḍi Sewu.

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10. JOHANNES RACH EN ZIJN WERK. Door J. DE LOOS-HAAXMAN. De topografische beschrijving der teekeningen met medewerking van W. FRUIN-MEES door Mr. P. C. BLOYS VAN TRESLONG PRINS. 12 × 9½, pp. 27 + 141* (of which 60 are illustrations). Batavia: G. Kolff & Co., n.d.

The first part of this work contains a brief preface and an equally short biographical note on Johannes Rach, followed by about twenty pages on his artistic career, his methods and subjects, the development of his style and the dating of his productions, his collaborators and pupils, and the various collections that contain specimens of his work. The second part, in which the pages are marked with an asterisk, comprises illustrations of some of his sepia drawings with descriptions of them on the opposite pages, lists of his works in several collections, and finally an index of proper names of persons and places.

The pictures are of strictly local interest. They are landscapes, with buildings and figures, or seascapes with ships, etc., all dealing with Batavia or places not very far-away from it; but they are of historical value, having been done just about 150 years ago. Rach arrived at Batavia in 1764 as a gunner on 14 florins a month, rose from the ranks, eventually becoming major, and died in 1783. The book is published under the auspices of the Royal Society of Arts and Sciences, Batavia, in connection with its 150th anniversary in 1928.

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11. BOROBUDUR: Six Original Etchings. By JAN POORTENAAR. Explanatory Introduction by Dr. N. J. Krom. $15\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 4, 6 plates. London: Luzac & Co. 1930.

Dr. Krom has furnished in his introduction a brief account of Borobudur and of its religious meaning as a monument of Mahāyāna Buddhism. A short foreword by Mr. Laurence Binyon introduces Mr. Poortenaar to the reader as " an etcher whose art is known and esteemed not only in his native Holland but also in this country ". Of the six etchings, two represent aspects of the monument as a whole, two are devoted to groups of the stūpas which crown it, one to a stairway, and one to a Buddhist statue in its niche. The long series of reliefs are not represented, though, as Dr. Krom points out, they are a vital part of the religious message of the monument. It may be presumed that they were not considered to be suitable subjects for the etcher's art. Without any pretensions whatever to judge his work from the technical point of view of an art critic, I may be permitted to express the purely personal feeling that etching is a medium far less suitable for the representation of this monument than photography. No doubt this is the view of a Philistine who is more interested in the details of the building than in any impressionist effect. The first plate, giving a distant view of Borobudur as a whole, is the one that to my mind is the most satisfactory, and next to it I should rank the Buddhist statue. But I am quite prepared to believe that from the technical point of view they are all good work.

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12. 'ADAT RADJA RADJA MELAJOE. Door Dr. PH. S. VAN RONKEL. $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. vii + 113. Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1929.

This is the first edition of a small treatise written in A.H. 1193 by a Malay at Malacca, at the request of the Dutch Governor, about the customs and ceremonies in use among Malay princely families on such occasions as births, marriages

and deaths. The text (of which a small portion had already appeared in G. K. Niemann's *Bloemlezing uit Maleische geschriften*) has been collated from three London MSS., the principal one having been lent for the purpose by our Society, and the variants are shown in the footnotes. The eleventh chapter of the Sĕjarah Mĕlayu, which also deals with royal ceremonial, has been reprinted as an appendix to the newer work. Not much more need be said about the latter, except that its contents are of considerable interest; the collation seems to have been done with care, a brief preface explains the origin of the work, and the Arabic type and printing are good.

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13. Indian Influences in the Lands of the Pacific. By Dr. W. F. Stutterheim. 10½ × 7, pp. 9. Weltevreden: G. Kolff & Co., n.d.

This article contains a brief sketch of the penetration of Buddhism and Hinduism into the Far East, more especially with reference to Indonesia. In this latter region Hinduism ultimately had the deeper influence, though throughout the greater part of the area it was afterwards supplanted by Islam as the official religion. Dr. Stutterheim raises two points, which in his view create difficulties, viz. that to be a Hindu one must be born a Hindu, and that to a Hindu travelling overseas is forbidden. These things may be so in theory, but surely the problem *solvitur ambulando*. In India itself families, tribes, and individuals have even in recent times been received into the Hindu fold; and we know from history that Hindus did in fact travel and trade overseas a good deal in the early centuries of our era. I doubt whether the use of the so-called Śaka era in Indonesia and Indo-China (which is common in Southern India also) can reasonably be attributed to the compulsory emigration of "Śaka rulers" to the former regions.

INTRODUCTION TO THE JAWÁMI'U'L-ḤIKÁYÁT WA LAWÁMI'U'R-RIWÁYÁT OF SADÍDU'D-DÍN MUḤAMMAD AL-'AWFÍ. By MUḤAMMAD NIẒÁMU'D-DÍN, Ph.D. (Cantab.). E. J. W. Gibb Memorial, N.S., Vol. VIII. 12 × 9, pp. 316. London: Luzac and Co. 1929. 42s.

The *Jawámi'u'l-Ḥikáyát wa Lawámi'u'r-Riwáyát* ("Compendium of Anecdotes and Flashes of Traditions") of al-'Awfí, of which the present volume treats, is a huge collection of anecdotes on a large variety of subjects, drawn from many sources, and written down between A.H. 625 and 630. It is divided into four parts, each of which consists of twenty-five chapters; the total number of anecdotes is 2113, which are taken from about ninety-three acknowledged sources, and probably from as many more which are unmentioned; the whole forms one of the most voluminous works in Persian, and occupies 397 folios (12 in. by 9½ in., quarto size) of 29 lines per page, in the manuscript B.M. Or. 6855, which is not quite complete. Of the other works of its author, the earliest, the Lubábu'l-Albáb, an anthology of the poets, is well known to scholars through the edition of the late Professor Browne; the second, a Persian translation of at-Tanúkhí's *Al-Faraj ba'da'sh-Shidda*, is little known; a third ("probably a collection of all the Panegyrics composed by al-'Awfí on various occasions in praise of Iltutmish and his patron-wazir") has apparently not been preserved.

The present volume forms an introduction to the study of the *Jawámi'*, the text of which exists at present only in MS.; the author also has in hand an edition of the text, but this cannot appear for a few more years. Chapter i consists of observations on the life and works of al-'Awfí, and establishes his *laqab* as Sadídu'd-Dín (not Núru'd-Dín). The more probable dates for his birth and death are A.H. 572–635 (= A.D. 1176/7–1232/3). His life is divided into three periods; (*a*) birth, childhood and early education, A.H. 572–97, mostly passed in Bukhárá; (*b*) itinerary period, A.H. 597–617, comprising visits to (among other places) Samarqand, Khwárazm,

Shahr-i-naw, Níshápúr, Sijistán, and a return to Bukhárá, with a journey to India, where he finally settled, becoming Chief Judge of Gujrát under Náṣiru'd-Dín Qabácha, ruler of Sind; here (c) the third period of his life was passed in literary productivity. The author gives some notes on al-'Awfí's translation of at-Tanúkhí's *Al-Faraj ba'da'sh-Shidda*.

Chapter ii treats of the position of the *Jawámi'* in Persian prose, and its value as a mine of historical and biographical anecdotes. The author then passes on to consider the use made of the *Jawámi'* by subsequent writers—the borrowings and abridgements to which it was subjected, and the translations which have been made from it. The investigation of the borrowings must have required much laborious research; to the author's statement that "at least ten direct quotations are traceable in the geographical part of the *Nuzhatu'l-Qulúb* of Ḥamdulláh al-Mustawfí we may now add that thirteen such occur in the zoological part, and that al-Mustawfí's indebtedness is probably even greater, since he states that "in this section everything that I have not transcribed from other books is taken from the account given in the *'Ajá'ibu'l-Makhlúqát* and the *Jámi'u'l-Ḥikáyát*". Doubtless many more quotations remain as yet undiscovered in the botanical and mineralogical sections of the *Nuzhatu'l-Qulúb*.

In Chapter iii a conspectus of the sources of the *Jawámi'* is given, with notes on many of them, and indications of the anecdotes borrowed from each. Chapter iv describes all the known MSS. of the *Jawámi'*, thirty-seven in number, of which twenty-three were examined by the author; those which were not examined are many of them late and unreliable; their value is assessed, and it is found that the order of merit of the MSS. almost corresponds with the chronological arrangement; about ten old and reliable MSS. are indicated, from which a standard and complete text can be safely established. In Chapter v the titles of the four parts of the work, and of its hundred chapters, are given; in the first

part are chapters treating of such subjects as the Miracles of the Prophets, Witty Sayings of Kings, Efficient Wazirs and their Diplomacy, Musicians and the Influence of Music; in the second the virtues are considered—Culture and Good Manners, Secrecy and Keeping Counsel, Grace and Nobility of Character, etc.; in the third the vices, under such headings as Strange Anecdotes about Robbers, Mean and Wretched Creatures, Chaste and Virtuous Women (but why such a chapter in such associations?); in the fourth, strange occurrences of all kinds—the Efficacy of Prayer, People who succumbed through Love, Peculiarities of Strange Animals, the Facetiousness of Eminent Persons, etc.

Chapter vi gives a "suitable descriptive and synoptical title" to each of the 2113 anecdotes, and occupies pp. 140–261, more than one-third of the volume; it is here that we best see the matter and manner of the book; a few titles taken quite at random read as follows: "al-Manṣúr detects a miser who concealed his wealth and posed as a beggar"; "Isḥáq b. Ibráhím al-Mawṣilí liberates a slave on account of a witty remark"; "al-Ma'mún and al-Mu'taṣim test the hospitality of 'Alí b. Hishám and find him an ideal host"; "the anguish of a youth of Baghdád at the loss of his favourite girl-musician, and the generosity of the Háshimí who restored her to him." Finally Chapter vii reclassifies the contents of the *Jawámi'*, since "the original scheme of the author is very unsatisfactory"; in the reclassification a number of the anecdotes are arranged under chronological headings, from "legendary and semi-historical" through the periods of Muslim history and the various dynasties; others are grouped as stories about religious persons, stories about secular persons (secretaries, poets, astrologers, artful persons, witty and humorous persons and many other classes), ethical stories, stories of encounters and exciting occurrences, geographical anecdotes, accounts of the physical properties of objects, natural history, etc. An excellent index completes the work.

The extreme interest and importance of the *Jawámi'*, and

of Dr. Niẓámu'd-Dín's *Introduction*, will be abundantly evident from what has been written above. And yet it seems to me that Dr. Niẓámu'd-Dín, while not, perhaps, overestimating this importance, nevertheless bases it on the wrong grounds. Thus he speaks of the authenticity of the material (p. 35); of the remarkable range of sources that gives the *Jawámi'* the historical value it enjoys (p. 24); he laments that al-'Awfí has abstained from giving contemporary history, and that there is practically nothing of first-hand material, which would have been of immense value to us (p. 25); he complains of the lack of dates in the historical anecdotes, of the arbitrary arrangement of anecdotes about a particular individual in different chapters and under different headings, and of the absence of chronological sequence or systematic design, as being great hindrances to the utility of the work (p. 25). That is, he conceives that the value of the *Jawámi'* lies in its being primarily a storehouse of authentic historical facts.

But surely this is to misconceive matters. The work was written to be a source of delight and amusement; and who can doubt that it has amply fulfilled this function in the past, and that it will continue to fulfil it, even for us occidentals of to-day, as soon as an edition of the text can be provided? Historical value it has, but not as an accumulation of authentic facts; its value lies in the provision of a background. Works which do not pretend to be "histories" will often prove, within their limits, truer sources of history than the chronicles. It is scarcely too much to say that practically every "historical" writer distorts his "facts" in the interest of this or that faction or clique; but the background—the mode of life of upper and lower classes, the dress, the food, the customs, the speech, the salutations, the general conditions of the time—no author thinks of distorting these; all these things are part of his very mind, and of the minds of contemporary readers; there is no object in attempting a falsification here, nor possibility of success if it were attempted. The value of

the *Jawámi'* is of the same kind as that of *The Table Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge*, which has been given to us by Professor Margoliouth; or, in its own degree (to compare it with one of the great books of the world—and Professor Niẓámu'd-Dín will then hardly complain of my want of appreciation of its merits) as that of Sa'dí's *Gulistán*, that charming picture of the thirteenth century, a joy and a delight to peruse, but *not* a source of historical information about Luqmán, or Anúshírwán, or Bahrám Gúr, or anyone else.

All Persian students will be grateful to Dr. Niẓámu'd-Dín for this beginning of his work on the *Jawámi'*; the labour has been great, but he will be repaid by knowing that not only is its value great to-day, but it will be greater still when, in a few years, the present volume can be used along with the text which he is editing. The work is scholarly and thorough; the author's critical ability and range of erudition are evident throughout. We wish him all success in his further progress towards his goal.

Most of the Gibb Memorial volumes have been in octavo; this one makes its appearance as a handsome quarto, presumably in order to accommodate the tables on the pages. The Trustees and the publishers are to be congratulated on the style and general get-up of the volume.

J. STEPHENSON.

A BAGHDAD CHRONICLE. By REUBEN LEVY, M.A., Lecturer in Persian in the University of Cambridge. 9 × 6, pp. x + 279, 4 plates. Cambridge: At the University Press. 1929.

As appears from the introduction to this pleasing chronicle, the author has been impelled by the fascination of contemporary Baghdad into attempting a reconstruction of its past. The result is a rapid survey of the Abbasid caliphate (in its narrower sense), since the period dealt with is that of the

five centuries during which the Abbasid House endured, with Baghdad as its capital for all but forty years.

Mr. Levy has used a large number of works, Arabic, Persian and European, manuscript and printed. His matter is generally familiar, and yet it is so arranged as to suggest fresh thoughts. Most histories of the caliphate are concerned almost exclusively with politics, whereas this is concerned mainly with culture and manners; they are apt to deal also either (as Muir's) too cursorily with the Abbasids, or (as Weil's) almost too fully, to provide such a view as Mr. Levy's. The point of his book for the Orientalist is, accordingly, the provision of this view.

All the caliphate (in its larger sense) looked to Baghdad throughout the Abbasid period as the centre of Islam—as did even the anti-caliphate of Egypt after its foundation, in matters of culture. We have here depicted, therefore, the development of the Moslem polity at what is perhaps its most important stage. Above all, Mr. Levy makes clear why it was that Moslem society was retrogressive in essence, and decayed in fact—namely, that its civilization was not developed from its beliefs, having been acquired as it were ready-made. For the mixture of sophisticated Greek-Persian culture with comparatively barbaric Arab religion was, in fact, unfortunate. In thought religion won, and speculation was practically suppressed, to the promotion of bigotry. In manners (consequently) luxury, untempered by good sense, tended to oust the simplicity that had originally accompanied a simple creed.

Mr. Levy does not, it is true, dissertate on these considerations. But the picture he draws seems to me chiefly to suggest them. His method is to recount all the major events that befell the capital, and to portray typical characters, generally by anecdote. He eschews the mention of politics as far as possible; but, perhaps for this very reason, provides an uncommonly clear view of the caliphs' situation from one age to another. He naturally refers frequently to the topography of the city, but has not embarked on a fresh investigation of

this vexed question—doubtless it is for this reason that he provides no map. In another vexed question, that of the transliteration of Arabic names, Mr. Levy is notably inconsistent—perhaps intentionally so. For instance, on p. 41 we get in one line Mu'azzam and Kadhimain. There are also a number of minor historical points on which he has slipped—as that (p. 86) it was the Khuld palace that came to be called the Ḥasaní, or that (p. 150) al-Rádí was murdered by the general Mu'nis; that (p. 164) the 'Aḍud al-Dawlah was actually the founder of the 'Aḍudí hospital; that (p. 186) al-Malik al-Raḥím was put to death by Sultan Ṭughrul-beg; that (p. 204) the Niẓám al-Mulk was dismissed from office before his assassination; or that (p. 212) the Mazyadite line was founded by Ṣadaqah. The practice of kissing the threshold of the Báb al-Nawbí, again, originated much earlier than Mr. Levy suggests—it was certainly in vogue during the reign of al-Qá'im (fifth century), if not before, and so cannot be connected with the burial of the "True-Cross" (p. 238). These are details, however, that do not compromise at all the value of Mr. Levy's work. Four excellent photographs of the city in its present state lend actuality to the narrative.

HAROLD BOWEN.

THE DĪWĀN OF ḤAKĪM NĀṢIR-I-KHUSRAW, together with the Rawshanā'ī'nāma, Sa'ādatnāma, and a prose Risāla. Printed and published by the Ṭehrān Library.

The closely printed volume of nearly 800 pages contains the Dīwān of Nāṣir-i-Khusraw and other works as stated. The text of the Dīwān has been prepared by Agha Haji Sayyid Nasrullah Taqawi, Agha Parwiz, and Agha Minawi from the Ṭehrān printed edition of A.H. 1314 compared with, and supplemented from, a number of MSS. It is preceded by a Foreword written by Agha Sayyid Hasan Taqizadeh and a separate introduction by Mirza Mujtabi Minawi; it has an index of names, and an appendix by Agha Mirza Ali

Akbar Khan Dihkhuda. The binding is attractive (except that leaves seem rather apt to become unstitched); the printing is excellent; the general appearance is most creditable. That is not to say that there are no misprints; the list of errata extends to seven and a half closely printed pages, and there are a good many minor errors unnoticed. But the misprints are not generally serious, and it is fair to remember what a mass of print is involved.

The notes to the Dīwān contain various readings and the explanation of a certain number of rare words. But the explanatory notes might have been greatly increased; they are very little more than are to be found already in lithographed editions, and, as the writers observe, the text is full of difficulties. The metre of each poem is given, but there are many inaccuracies and slips. The first poem is stated to be هزج مثمن احزب مکفوف مجذوف—the proof reader might have got this right; on p. 15, l. 4, the metre should be مضارع اخرب مکفوف, not simply مضارع مکفوف, and the last fort is مفاعیلن and not مفاعیل; p. 21, l. 20, the metre is هزج اخرب مقبوض, not simply هزج اخرب; the metres are not fully and correctly given in many other cases, e.g. p. 28, l. 14; p. 33, l. 5; p. 393, l. 16 (where I first opened the book at random).

The Foreword written by Mirza Taqizadeh is a valuable and interesting article. The writer admits his indebtedness to European scholars. He gives a general account of the poet's life and works and beliefs, basing it upon passages in his writings, and discarding the tales of Dawlatshāh and the famous Pseudo-Autobiography. (Vide Browne's article, *JRAS.*, 1905, pp. 313–52, and *Literary History*, vol. ii, p. 218.) It is, of course, impossible to repeat here what the writer says, but the following salient points may be noted. Nāṣir was born in Qubādiyān under Balkh A.H. 394, of good Persian family and no 'Alawī—nor a native

of Iṣfahān. He set out on his seven years' journey to Egypt and the West in A.H. 438, and in Egypt he became a follower of the Fātimid Khalīfas, and, passing through the lower grades of the Ismā'īliya faith—مستجيب, مأذون, and داعى—became a Ḥujjat (حجّت, "Proof") and was appointed to the Khurāsān Circle (جزيره)—Khurāsān having the extended meaning of that time. He returned to Balkh, and a few years later—at all events before A.H. 453—opposition to his propaganda forced him to fly, first to Māzandarān, thence perhaps to Nīshāpūr, and finally to Yamkān, which is a valley to the south of Jirm, a town 6 or 7 leagues south of Fayẓābād, the present capital of Badakhshān. There he died, probably in A.H. 456, and there he was buried. The writer adopts the spelling Yamkān, but Mirza Muhammad Khan Qazwini in his introduction to 'Attār's Tadhkiratu'l-awliyā writes Yumgān. Nāṣir's extant writings all date from the latter part of his life, but none of them can be accurately fixed, except the Zādu'l-Musāfirīn, which was written in A.H. 453. The writer discusses at length the date of the Rawshanā'ī'nāma, for which astronomical data are available, and considers that A.H. 460 fits in with more of these data than any other year.

Taqizadeh's Foreword is followed by a subsidiary introduction (ذيل) by Agha Mirza Mujtabi Minawi, who gives certain information about the sources from which the text has been taken. This information is not as full as it might be. He refers to the prose Risāla—a treatise written at the request of the Amīr of Badakhshān in answer to the philosophical and religious questions proposed by an earlier poet in a qasīda of eighty couplets. The text given is from a MS. recopied for Agha Mirza Taqawi and another MS. belonging to Agha Haji Husayn Maliku't-tujjār. Mirza Mujtabi mentions the alleged descent of Nāṣir from 'Alī. This was the general belief of the time of 'Attār, who writes :—

بود فرزند رسول آن مرد دین
با خوارج بود اورا جنگ و کین

Nāṣir *was* an 'Alawī, but only in the sense of a follower of 'Alī.

Considerations of space will only allow a few words as to the Appendix by Dihkhuda. It was originally intended that this should contain critical notes and emendations by Qazwini, but that scholar was unable to undertake the work. Dihkhuda's notes are chiefly conjectural emendations. They are interesting, but sometimes hardly convincing. A certain number of notes are, however, of a more useful type, e.g. that on " Ghumdān " on p. 619, and that on " Ādhar burzīn " on p. 657. Dihkhuda states that he has since been shown three prose works on the Ismā'īliyas, which offer further useful information, with which he hopes to deal in some later article.

From these remarks it may be gathered that the work now reviewed can be criticized and is not free from defects and imperfections. Notwithstanding this it is a valuable piece of work, for which Orientalists can be grateful, and the fact that it has been done in Ṭehrān by native Persian scholars is of good augury for the future.

C. N. S.

A LITERARY HISTORY OF THE ARABS. By REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON. 8 × 6, pp. xxxii + 506. Cambridge: University Press, 1930.

Professor Nicholson's *Literary History* has held for so long a foremost place in the esteem and affection not only of Arabic students, but of all who are interested in Eastern poetry and the civilization of Islam, that a new edition is assured of a warm welcome. The passage of nearly a quarter of a century has not affected the sureness and quality of his

judgments, and the almost verbatim reprint of the text gives little cause for regret. For the rest, a few pages of supplementary notes summarize the results of more recent research, and the bibliographies have been revised and brought up to date.

H. A. R. G.

TURKEY AND SYRIA REBORN. A Record of two years of Travel. By HAROLD ARMSTRONG. 9×6, pp. $x + 270$. London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, Ltd., 1930.

This work is a record of the author's experiences during two years of travel in Syria and Turkey, as one of the Delegates of the Commission for Assessment of War Damage. Perusal is rendered easy by the division into short chapters, averaging about five pages in length, and it should be decidedly agreeable to those who, like the ancient Athenians, enjoy listening to vituperation, which the author lavishes in full measure on persons, places, and communities. Some specimens may be quoted: "From Alexandretta to Alexandria, whether they be Arabs, Syrians, Jews, Levantines, or Egyptians, these tradesmen of the coast towns have not one virtue, not one lovable characteristic, mental, moral, or physical" (p. 46). "Wherever the missionaries have influenced the Syrian, they have taken from him any stability and virtues which his own traditions and beliefs could give him, and they have offered him nothing to fill the gap. They have vulgarized him in the clothes he wears, in his outlook on life, in his speech, and his manners and his aims" (p. 42). "With the old Gods the Hebrew drove away joy in the beauty of the body and of living, the purity of sex, and replaced laughter with the weak wan smile of spiritual superiority" (p. 82).

"Beyrouth (inside) was a town without a soul, with the hard, blatant, vulgar character of a Marseilles dancing-girl" (p. 1). "Adana was an unhappy town. It was ugly, unpleasant and unhealthy" (p. 135). "Aleppo was an evil

place. It was only late May, but already the sun was banking its heat down into the narrow streets as in an oven—heat so thick and heavy that I could take great handfuls of it and squeeze it out like putty between my perspiring fingers" (p. 94: surely he ought to have preserved some of it for the use of physicists). "I would not have advised my worst enemy even to visit it (Antioch), much less to build a house and live here" (p. 113). "It is recorded that St. Paul was born here (in Tarsus), but having once left Tarsus, after his eyes were opened, he never returned. After a short enforced stay I appreciated his good judgment" (p. 129: the record of the Acts is different). The author states that on a certain occasion he "woke foul-mouthed" (p. 159). Probably this happened several other days.

His descriptions of places rarely visited by Europeans will have some value as contemporary records, and some interest attaches to his statements about the effects of the present régime on their inhabitants, and his forecasts of the future, which are apt to resemble those of Horace's Tiresias, *O Laertiade, quicquid dicam aut erit, aut non.* But most of these matters are outside the scope of this *Journal*, as are his judgments of his contemporaries, such as T. E. L[illegible] Mustafa Kemal. [illegible] troversy with the former [illegible]

"Finally our argument [illegible]

[illegible]

NICHOLSON. [illegible]
University Press. 1930.

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Die Staatenbildungen in den arabischen Teilen der Türkei seit dem Weltkriege nach Entstehung, Bedeutung und Lebensfähigkeit. Von Erich Topf. (Hamburgische Universität: Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der Auslandskunde, Band 31, Reihe A, Band 3.) 12 × 8½, pp. x + 260. Hamburg, 1929.

This well-written, well-arranged, and well-documented work belongs to a region from which our Journal is excluded—contemporary politics. It furnishes a clear and intelligible account of the mode wherein the Arabic speaking countries which before the Great War formed parts of the Ottoman Empire have acquired their existing political status and the vicissitudes through which they have passed. The author's anti-British and anti-French bias is very marked; yet perhaps his condemnation of British policy is not more severe than the judgments to be found in the works of English writers such as Lawrence, Philby, Harold Jacob, and Richard Coke. Study of the notes and references will help the reader to appreciate the historical importance of the magazines *The Near East and India* and *Oriente Moderno*, of Mr. A. J. Toynbee's *Islamic World since the Peace Settlement*, and of the *Letters* of Gertrude Bell, which last have won their [illegible] personal and domestic touches that [illegible] of Irak. [illegible] permanent value as a succinct [illegible] series of events, and as a collec- [illegible] ties. It would be scarcely [illegible] judgments or con- [illegible] Yet even

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"Finally our arguments slid down on to a lower plane, as to the respective values of the Arabs and the Turks, and we parted, having arranged that if the choice should come our way—and in those days it was possible—we would pit a hundred Turks against a hundred Arabs and back our shirts on our fancies. It would have been a poor bet, for I must have won, as ten Turks would have chased a hundred of the best Arabs as wolves chase sheep" (p. 90).

The history of Yemen makes it uncertain whether Mr. Armstrong would have retained his shirt.

D. S. M.

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The book should have permanent value as a succinct record of highly complicated series of events, and as a collection of official agreements and treaties. It would be scarcely possible to discuss any of the writer's judgments or conclusions without trespassing on forbidden ground. Yet even here we may protest against the description of Greece and Portugal as " English vassal states " (p. 105).

D. S. M.

ابراهيم باشا فى سوريا هو تاريخ بدء النهضة الحديثة فى الشرق الادنى واحوال سوريا فى عهد محمد على الخ. **Ibrahim Pasha in Syria**: History of the commencement of the new movement in the Near East, the condition of Syria in the time of Muhammad Ali, etc. By Sulaiman Abu Izz al-Din. Beyrut, 1929.

This work is a historical monograph written in the European style, and based on authoritative printed books in various languages, and to a smaller extent on MS. materials. The author is no mean stylist, since it is not easy to leave the book unfinished if one has once started reading it. To the Egyptians both Muhammad Ali and Ibrahim Pasha are heroes of the first order; but that is not the view which this Syrian writer takes of them, though he admits the military ability of the latter. The reasons which he enumerates for Muhammad Ali's invasion of Syria are similar to those which dictated Napoleon's aggressions; chiefly the need of sources of revenue which would enable him to carry out his plans in Egypt and for himself without rendering the burdens imposed on the Egyptians intolerable. The Syrian communities either told the invader that they regarded themselves as the conqueror's property, whether the Ottoman Sultan or Muhammad Ali, or being allured by his promises welcomed him in the hope of an improvement in their condition. That hope was speedily found to be delusive. The system of extortion devised by Muhammad Ali surpassed all the efforts of the Ottomans. Disarmament and enforced enlistments aroused universal indignation. When, after barely ten years of this occupation the European powers intervened, Ibrahim Pasha's fabric collapsed like a house of cards.

It is not clear that the Syrian writer has added anything of importance to what is to be found in the narrative of A. A. Paton, who had some share in the events. Since the former criticizes the French government of the time somewhat severely, it would appear that the press in Syria enjoys

more liberty under the present than under the Turkish régime.

D. S. M.

THE SMELL OF LEBANON. Twenty-four Syrian Folk-songs collected by S. H. STEPHAN and with English Versions made by E. POWYS MATHERS. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 50. Francis Walterson, Talybont Dyffryn, Merioneth, 1928. 21*s*.

This little work resembles G. Dalman's *Palästinischer Diwan*, but is on a very much smaller scale. The odes are in vulgar Arabic, and mostly erotic in character; they are accompanied with verse translations, of which the following may serve as a specimen:—

O sea, I will not fare you
For my love made a quest on you,
O rose, I will not wear you,
His crimson is confessed on you,
O kohl, I will not grind you,
His darkness is to find on you,
O bed, I will not near you,
Since my love showed his breast on you.

Without pronouncing on the beauty of these verses, which must be a matter of individual taste, it may be observed that they are obscure where the original is clear. For "his crimson" the original has "the red of his cheeks"; for "his darkness" it has "the blackness of his eyes". Further, since *nuhud* in the last line is correctly rendered in the Lexica as *sororiantes mammas habuit puella*, it is clear that *her* should throughout be substituted for *his*. The need of rhyme has made the translator substitute *I will not wear you* for *I will not pick you*, seriously altering the sense. On the whole this "smell of Lebanon" is of doubtful fragrance.

D. S. M.

WISDOM OF THE PROPHETS (IN THE LIGHT OF TASAWWUF
Being a synoptical translation into English of Shay
Muhiyuddin ibni-i-Ali ul Arabi's famous standard boo
on Tasawwuf *Fusus-ul-Hikam* (Bezels of Wisdom) wit
Analytical Notes on each Fas and a Life of the Shayl
By KHAN SAHIB KHAJA KHAN, B.A. 9 × 6. Printed a
the Hogarth Press, Mount Road, Madras, 1928 (?).

The "Adage-gems" of the famous mystic Ibn'Arab revealed to him, he asserts, at Damascus in the last decade c Muharram, 627 (11th–20th December, 1229), deserve translation into European languages as much as any Arabi treatise. Some of its ideas seem to anticipate human progres by half a millennium; such as that mercy to the creatu takes precedence over piety to the Creator: that no worshippe has ever worshipped any but the Divine Being; that w should not think evil of God. And it is not surprising tha the book should at times have been publicly burned.

Translation is indeed a difficult undertaking, partly becaus the philosophical and theological terms employed rarel coincide with English terms, and partly because the work i usually accompanied with a "mixed commentary", apt t be inextricably mixed. Since Professor Nicholson is unusuall well qualified for this task it was disappointing to find th rendering of only a few extracts from the work in his *Studie in Islamic Mysticism*. And though Mr. Khaja Khan's work i sponsored by M. Massignon, whose contributions to the stud of Islamic mysticism have earned just eulogy, it is disappoint ing, if only on the ground that instead of offering a faithfu rendering, following the guidance of the best commentaries it furnishes a paraphrase of excerpts. Thus whereas th Gem which is found in a saying of Isaac (chapter vi) start with twelve verses, Mr. Khaja Khan gives a paraphrase c two, and says nothing about the rest. His opinion of Ib Arabi as a writer is certainly not very high:

"The Shayk is in the habit of running off the line; some times he runs off at a tangent in explanation of a mere wor

that occurs in his theme, and does not finally revert to the point from which he digressed. He is carried away by his thoughts and is not under the control of sequence. Such treatment will be objected to by modern writers. The Shayk's trend of thought is more or less Carlylean. Portions like these have been omitted as well as portions that did not seem quite germane to the subject."

Certainly the dress in which Ibn 'Arabi clothes his ideas is at least as fantastic as that which Carlyle gave to *Sartor Resartus*. But it would be a bold venture in the latter case to omit digressions and portions that did not seem quite germane to the subject, and the same may be said in reference to the Adage-gems. Let us hope then that we may regard this work of Mr. Khaja Khan as a *Vorarbeit*, to be followed by a complete and faithful rendering, which will enable those who have not access to Ibn 'Arabi's original to appreciate the boldness of his innovations, the ingenuity with which he introduces new wine into old bottles, and (at times) the brilliancy of his wit.

D. S. M.

THE JEWS IN THE CHRISTIAN ERA: FROM THE FIRST TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, AND THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO ITS CIVILIZATION. By LAURIE MAGNUS. 9 × 6, pp. 426. London: Ernest Benn, Ltd., 1929. 15s.

Mr. Laurie Magnus has been able to condense within 426 pages a spirited survey of the history of the Jews from the beginning of the Christian era to the eighteenth century. The book is divided into ten chapters, each one with a picturesque title and graphic sub-titles. There are at the end a number of explanatory notes in which some of the points touched upon in the course of the description are more fully developed, but it was not an easy task. The history of the Jews who are scattered over all the continents is quite unique, and it is very difficult to do full justice to each of the phases

through which the Jews have passed in their manifold a
checkered career, and yet Mr. Magnus has been able to dr
a lively picture in which the interest is sustained fr
beginning to end. This book differs to a large extent from t
many histories which have appeared notably during t
recent years. People's attention seems to have been turn
more and more towards the elucidation of the problem
Jewish life and activity in many lands and over such a lo
period. Without losing himself in details, Mr. Magnus kee
steadily in view the great current of internal development a
the part which the Jews have played in furthering t
civilization of the nations among whom they lived. He sho
convincingly how closely the Jews have been able to adj
themselves to their environment and to conditions unc
which they were placed and how many of the phenome
which strike the superficial observer in the activity of t
Jews in various parts of the world and their treatme
especially during the middle ages, are due to those politi
and economic conditions under which they were forced
live from time to time.

Taking the middle ages as an example, Mr. Magnus plum
for the reformation, and he gives a very vivid picture of t
medieval society divested of its romanticism and present
in its true aspect such as it emerges now from unbias
historical research. He strips the medieval knight of
armour, he shows that the consequence of the feudal syst
was the concentration of Jews in the towns since it was f
bidden to them to own landed property. He furtherm
shows that they were made to be the tools of kings and t
mighty ones or, rather, the screens behind which the rul
drained the wealth of the country. There is another and ve
important feature in this book, viz. the constant paralleli
which the author draws between the literary activity
the Jews and that of scholars and poets of other nations
ancient and modern times. He lays especial stress on t
influence which this Jewish thought and work had upon t

development of the European civilization and he thus illuminated his description of the history of the Jews by this constant reference to the historical background. Although he himself owns that no historian can be quite objective on the whole he endeavours to keep free from too much sympathy with one party or another, and he succeeds in remaining unbiased in his judgment, often brilliantly expressed, on men and events. It is a valuable and stimulating contribution to the history of the Jews.

M. GASTER.

LA PRÉHISTOIRE ORIENTALE. By JACQUES DE MORGAN. Ouvrage posthume publié par LOUIS GERMAIN. Tome iii, L'Asie Antérieure. $11\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 458. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1927. Price for the 3 vols., 300 frs.

In this posthumous work de Morgan completes his description of the prehistoric civilization of mankind. The book is divided into ten chapters, this is the third volume, and here the author starts with the beginnings of arts and crafts in Syria and Mesopotamia: he proceeds then to describe the obsidian in Western Asia, and the formation of Chaldea and the plain of Susa. Then the various stages of the development of the arts and crafts in Chaldea and in Elam, the development of the stone implements in Eastern Asia, the settlements of the colonization of Chaldea and Elam, Hellas and the islands, the first appearance of metals in the northwest of Asia, copper, bronze, weapons, dress, and trinkets; this is followed by the first appearance of iron, ceramics, and so on up to the final chapter, which is devoted to the origin of the pictorial writings. The conclusion at which the author arrives after a careful investigation of all the monuments and after paying special attention to the objects found in the various tombs is briefly as follows: Leaving aside the glacial periods treated in the previous volumes the

author comes to the conclusion that the first spark of human civilization was seen when the first furnace was lit in western Asia for smelting ore. This could only have been done in the neighbourhood of copper mines, thence that civilization spread in the first place over the whole plain of Syria and Mesopotamia, Palestine, Arabia, and Egypt; Europe was then still covered with ice down to the Pyrenees, and Siberia enjoyed a much warmer climate than it had since, but the tremendous mountain barriers in the south and east prevented the population that had grown up in that part from spreading. The west was closed by the ice barrier.

According to the author the Semitic element coming from Arabia chiefly by way of the Persian Gulf, filtered in slowly, and it was able entirely to subjugate and to absorb the Sumerian element; this Accadian-Semitic element was long-headed and it further developed the primitive elements of culture which are found in that region until it brought it to a very high state of perfection. The author then claims priority of this civilization over the Egyptian and he contends that although a Libyan element may have been settling in small numbers on the banks of the Nile it was this Chaldean or Accadian element which worked its way from the punt and along the shores of the Mediterranean which conquered Egypt. They brought the Chaldean civilization to Egypt, and thus the problem is being solved why no primitive beginnings can be found in Egypt. In Siberia the Indo-European or Arian nation developed and after a long period was able to penetrate into the south, occupying Persia and India and driving some primitive races before them or annihilating them. The glacier had meanwhile disappeared from Europe, the Dorian element came down from the same quarter occupying Hellas, but the most important element in the history of civilization was the Celtic nation, to which the author devotes long chapters. The time is that of the Halsted monument, the Celts were the carriers of the ancient

civilization and found their way, probably by the Caucasus, into Europe, bringing first copper and bronze and the art of smelting, and about 1,000 B.C.E. also iron; with their arrival the prehistoric period practically comes to an end. Of the Mongolian element the author does not speak at all, although he hints at a possible second population living in Siberia and then journeying south and east. He speaks with scorn and indignation of the rapacity of the Spaniards and the fanaticism of the priests who ruthlessly destroyed the ancient civilizations of Central America, and he points with indignation also to the same processes being carried out in our times by missioners and priests who help to destroy the primitive races whenever they come in contact with them. The author also traces the beginnings of the pictorial writings to ancient Chaldea and he pays special attention to the old ceramics, which he divides into two distinct classes, the one coloured, chiefly the Elamite and Chaldean, and the crude one, chiefly European with the exception of some Greek ceramics.

Many will probably dissent from his theory of the priority of the Chaldean over the Egyptian civilization or finding the homes of the Arian or Indo-European nations in Siberia, but the author brings very weighty arguments in favour of his theory and he is convinced that further researches among the ancient monuments and burial places scattered over that part of the world will fully justify his views.

The book contains no less than 380 illustrations, the last of which is a map showing the route taken by the nations that invaded Europe in the course of the ages, and there are three beautiful coloured plates of two vases from Susa and also the index of all the three volumes.

M. Gaster.

THE EMPEROR ROMANUS LECAPENUS AND HIS REIGN. A study of Tenth-Century Byzantium, by STEVEN RUNCIMAN. 9 × 6, pp. 275, with map. Cambridge University Press, 1929. Price 16*s*. net.

The author is a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and in dealing with a Byzantine subject naturally depends chiefly on Greek and Latin authorities; the bibliography (pp. 254–61) shows, however, that he is aware of Arabic, Slavonic and Armenian and "Caucasian" (Georgian) material published on the subject, though through no fault of his, the information derived from the last group (p. 257 D) might have been much fuller, for during the last quarter of a century a great deal of epigraphic and palæographic work has been done in the Caucasus bearing directly or indirectly on Byzantine history; it is unfortunately not yet easily accessible for Western students. The chapter (viii, pp. 151–77) on Armenia and the Caucasus might have been the better for revision in the light of publications of more recent date than those of fifty or sixty years ago. As to the Somekhis (note 5, p. 172), who are described as "probably of no significance", this is the name by which the Armenians to this day are called by their neighbours the Georgians. To make the history of Byzantium fascinating to the general reader needs a gift of style far out of the common, and we cannot demand that the subject should be the monopoly of writers like Gibbon, Bury, Diehl, and Iorga, but Mr. Runciman has done a vast amount of research well worth doing, and his next volume will, we think, have more vivacity and grace of language; the present book is promising.

O. W.

HANNES SKÖLD: ZUR VERWANDTSCHAFTSLEHRE: DIE KAUKASISCHE MODE (reprint from "Beiträge zur allgemeinen und vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft"). 10 × 7, pp. 80–130. Lund, 1929.

During the last seven years Hr. Sköld has contributed several works to the publications of the University of Lund, on

subjects chiefly Indian, but including Hungarian and Osset. His present essay is of a decidedly polemical character, and condemns in strong terms the recent works of Professor N. Y. Marr, of the Russian Academy, and Hr. Ferdinand Bork. It is curious to note that Hr. Sköld could not find a collection of Marr's work in Lund, but had to go to Russia, and even as far as Tashkent, to gather materials for his criticism, which is, to say the least, tinged with disapproval of the political régime under which Mr. Marr has lived for the last twelve years. Hr. Sköld is probably right in some of the things he says about the monstrous length to which the Japhetic theory has been extended, but it would have been better perhaps to limit his deprecations to the field of linguistics; to go outside this in a scientific journal reminds some of us rather of the now long past period when in heated controversy irrelevant matters were brought into discussions between Orientalists.

O. W.

Explorations in Central Anatolia, Season of 1926. By H. H. von der Osten. 12 × 9, pp. 167, with xxiv plates, 242 figures, and map. Chicago: University Press, 1929. 18s. net.

This is volume i of *Researches in Anatolia*, and vol. v of the Oriental Institute publications of the University of Chicago. It contains eleven brief monographs summarizing what Mr. von der Osten saw during his survey in 1926, especially in the bend of the river Halys, and is a useful contribution to Hittite studies. The photographic illustrations are generally clear. Two more volumes dealing with the Alishar Hüyük Season of Exploration in 1927 are announced to follow shortly. Such a record of work, in a region where the continued existence of antiquities is imperilled by any attention drawn to them, is of great importance to archæologists as a guide for their labours; itinerant students

necessarily desire to limit their luggage, and it seems a pity that the book could not have been issued in a more easily portable form. Mr. von der Osten's journey in Asia Minor lasted nearly three months, and the distances covered were 4,428 kilometres by automobile, and 179 kilometres on foot or horseback. In the introduction (p. 4) a description of the three "Hittite" types of pottery will be found. On pp. 66–7 Mr. T. G. Allen describes the black granite statuette (Pl. vi) seen at Kirik Kaleh as "A Middle Kingdom Egyptian Contact with Asia Minor" and compares it with figures in Chicago and Berlin.

O. W.

HISTOIRE DES GRANDS PRÊTRES D'AMON DE KARNAK. Par GUSTAVE LEFEBVRE. 10½ × 6½, pp. 603. Paris: Geuthner, 1929. Frs. 150.

M. Gustave Lefebvre, of the Egyptian Service des Antiquités, has written a very readable, as well as useful, history of the high priests of Amon at Karnak, from the time of the XIIth Dynasty to that of the XXIst, a period of a thousand years (*c.* 2000–1000 B.C.). He has collected all that is known on the subject, combined with a critical examination of former work on it, notably that of Dr. Wreszinski. He confines himself rigidly to the high priests of Amon at Karnak: there were high priests of Amon elsewhere, even at Thebes; but the real pontiffs of Thebes under the Empire were the high priests of Karnak, and these only M. Lefebvre admits to his history, whereas Dr. Wreszinski seems to have included some of the others. He gives all the evidence known to him, followed by a summing-up and a precise documentation of the authorities.

The summing-up is very good. In it M. Lefebvre sketches succinctly the story of the rise of the simple chief priest, the *ḥem-neter-tepi*, of the chief temple in Thebes of the god Amon, whom the kings of the XIIth Dynasty chose

to make, instead of Mentu, the original deity of the Thebaid as well as of Hermonthis, their chief god. Only one or two of the chief priests of *Nesut-taui* ("The Thrones of the Two Lands" = Karnak) at this period are known. It is with the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty, when Thebes developed suddenly into the capital of a great empire, that they rise into prominence. Under Ḥatshepsut the high priest Ḥapusenb is not only high-priest, but also vizier. Tḥutmase III separated the two offices: making Rekhmira' vizier and Menkheperra'senb high priest. But Menkheperra'senb had many civil offices as well: he was minister of finance, for one thing, and many other things also. And both Ḥapusenb and he were in reality the Popes of Egypt, for they were given the dignity of "Chief of the Prophets of Upper and Lower Egypt": the primacy of Amon and his great high-priest was undoubted. A later pontiff, under the XVIIIth Dynasty, Bakenkhonsu I, and his successor, Meriptah, bear the even more definite title of "Chief of the Prophets of all the gods", and Ptaḥmase, who officiated under Amenhotep III, uses this as well as that of "Chief of the Prophets of Upper and Lower Egypt". Ptaḥmase is also vizier, whereas the intervening high priests since the time of Tḥutmase III had not been permitted to become the highest minister of the land like Ḥapusenb. Then came the religious revolution of Akhenaten, and when the high priest of Amon reappears it is with shorn dignity. He is, it is true, "Chief of the Prophets of all the gods," but only of those of Thebes: the other temples had been able to assert their independence. Under Seti I, however, Nebentiru reasserts the claim to primacy as "Chief of the Prophets of Upper and Lower Egypt". The next great pontiff is Bakenkhonsu II, under Rameses II, who rivals the grandeur of Menkheperra'senb in ecclesiastical matters, but only at Thebes: he is not primate, nor does he hold any civil office; the king saw to that. His successor, Roma-Rei, who flourished *c.* 1240–1210 B.C., also had no civil charge, but is primate again. And he is the first to place

his own figure on the walls of Karnak, under the weaker rule of the successor of Rameses. Bakenkhonsu III, under Rameses III, still has no civil dignities : none of these high-priests were also ministers until Rameses-nekht (under Rameses IV), and, above all, his ambitious and powerful son Amenḥotep, who treated with Rameses IX as an equal, fashioned his image with that of the king at Karnak on the same scale as that of his master, and seems to have seized temporarily the financial power of the crown until by a *coup d'état*, accompanied by violence, the king overthrew this too orgulous priest, who perhaps perished, another Becket, at the hands of the royal knights. Rejoicing filled the court, and, a thing unprecedented, a new era was begun (nineteenth year of Rameses IX, *c.* 1138 B.C.), and the king now counted his years of reign from " The Renewing of Births ", marked by the fall of his misproud subject. Never before had the high-priests tried to form a dynasty : royal policy demanded that this should not form a precedent. But the king was successful only for a moment. He fell out of the frying-pan of ecclesiastical into the fire of military domination. Not long after, a general, Ḥriḥor, perhaps he who had overthrown Amenḥotep, was made high priest, no doubt in order to check the ecclesiastics by putting the power of the high-priesthood into military hands. Ḥriḥor became a dictator ; and it was not long before when the last Ramesside passed away he ascended the throne as the first of the " Priest-Kings " and founder of the XXIst Dynasty. The history of the dynasty of priests as kings is not traced by M. Lefebvre ; it belongs to the story of the kings. But he shows that the idea that Ḥriḥor was a legitimate high priest, allied by marriage to the Ramesside family and inheriting the throne by marriage, is erroneous. He was a soldier, made high-priest for reasons of policy, and soon turning into a dictator and eventually king himself.

It is interesting history, and M. Lefebvre tells it well. His analysis of the documents and critical examination of the

previous texts and elimination of several supposed high priests from them is well done. We may add a small contribution to his list of sources: in the British Museum we possess, beside inscriptions mentioned by him, four scarabs of XVIIIth Dynasty high priests: Tḥuti (No. 28291), Ḥapusenb (Nos. 21568, 29435), and Menkheperra'senb (No. 17773). Each bears the title of the high-priest as *ḥem-neter tepi n Amon*, and Ḥapusenb has on No. 21568 in addition his civil dignities as Chancellor and Sole Friend, and the title *ma'at ẖraw*, which shows that the scarab was funerary. Ḥapusenb died many years before his mistress, Queen Ḥatshepsut, and was buried in great state, and Tḥutmase III could wreak no vengeance on him beyond the hammering out of the names of his detested consort in the high-priest's tomb-inscriptions.

In this connection it is rather surprising to find that M. Lefebvre seems still to accept in its entirety the Sethe-Breasted theory of the *Thronwirren* of Tḥutmase III and Ḥatshepsut (p. 72). Naville's criticisms were, of course, often very wide of the mark, but some of his points told, as also did von Bissing's; and I do not think that the theory is generally accepted now as it originally was formulated: a great deal of unnecessary complication as to the exits and reappearances of Tḥutmase I, Tḥutmase II, Tḥutmase III, and Ḥatshepsut has been discarded (see my *Ancient History of the Near East* (1927), p. 286 ff.). But M. Lefebvre continues to regard Tḥutmase III as a son of Tḥutmase I, and so brother, not nephew, of Ḥatshepsut.

The high priest Sarabina, or, rather, Sa-rabi-rabi-na ([hieroglyphs]) surnamed Abaye ([hieroglyphs] or [hieroglyphs]) included by Wreszinski in his catalogue, is, of course, to be rejected from the list, as M. Lefebvre says. He was "high priest of Amon and the Ennead of gods in She-nefer", not at Karnak, and was also prophet of Baal and Astarte; that is to say, he was, as his name indicates, a Semite, a priest of foreign gods as well as of the local Amon

near Memphis: his tomb was found at Saqqārah. But it is quite impossible to date him, as M. Lefebvre does (p. 111), to "an epoch later than the XXVth Dynasty". The documents as to Sarabina and his tomb are published in the text of Lepsius's *Denkmaeler*, ed. Naville and Sethe, p. 16. His name and priesthoods point decisively to the end of the XVIIIth or beginning of the XIXth Dynasty, as also does the style of the inscriptions on the objects said to have been found in his tomb (at Berlin). And among them was a gold ring with the name of Akhenaten. Further, among objects presumed but not certainly known to come from the tomb, was the well-known carved wooden "Roundel of Sarabina", a Minoan Cretan, or possibly Mycenæan Cyprian work of art, which can only date between the sixteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C., and most probably belongs to the 'Amarna period (latest photographic illustration, Bossert, *Altkreta*, 350). Now, the probability that this roundel was actually found in Sarabina's tomb is heightened by the fact that Lepsius, of course, knew nothing of what we know as to the date of the roundel quite apart from Egyptian evidence; Lepsius knew nothing of Mycenæ, of Knossos, and of Enkomi. Yet he assigns to this tomb of a man with a name typical of the foreign immigrants of the XIXth Dynasty, in which a signet-ring of Akhenaten was found, an object of Minoan-Mycenæan art. It looks as if he were right. But M. Lefebvre says: "Quant à la bague d'or au nom d'Aménophis IV, elle ne prouve en aucune façon que le tombeau est du temps de ce roi. J'attribuerais plutôt les objets découverts dans le tombeau et le tombeau lui-même à une époque postérieure à la XXV[e] dynastie." Is a ring of an XVIIIth Dynasty king or person likely to be found in a tomb of the XXVth Dynasty or later? Who would treasure a ring of the heretic under the Saïtes? If there is anything more clear than another it is that objects of Akhenaten date only from Akhenaten's time, and that the idea that the name of Akhenaten could be reverenced in Saïte days, as those of Thutmase III and

Amenḥotep III were, is rather absurd. Neither new "editions" of his scarabs and rings or heirlooming of contemporary ones is possible. The only possible means of getting the ring of Akhenaten into the tomb of Sarabina, if the latter were of the XXVth Dynasty, would be to suppose that the dealer who dug the tomb purposely salted it with a ring from Amarna. This is probably what M. Lefebvre thinks likely. Against it is the evidence of the roundel, and above all the name, titles, and inscriptions of Sarabina, which are not of the XXVth Dynasty or later, but of the XVIIIth–XIXth Dynasty. It is then natural to suppose that the ring really belonged to the burial, and that Sarabina lived in the time of Akhenaten.

On p. 107 M. Lefebvre still retains the erroneous reading of the name of Akhenaten's ephemeral successor as "Saakare". There is no doubt whatever from the fayence rings with his name that it was Smenkhkara'. M. Lefebvre approves of Mr. Battiscombe Gunn's new meaning for the name of Tut'ankhaton, "The life of Aton is pleasing" (*J.E.A.* 1926, p. 252); but personally I still prefer the old interpretation as "Living Image of Aton" (later, Amon), to which I cannot see the objection that Mr. Gunn finds: after all, the Aton itself *was* imaged as the sun with rays ending in hands holding the symbol of life, and Tut'ankhaton might well aspire to be "made in the image of" the one god believed the Aton. I think that the use of *tut*, meaning "pleasing", in his Horus-name *Tut-masut*, was a holy pun. On pp. 124, 151, "Pahenneter" should be Paḥemneter (Pḥemnuter).

By the way, even if the first volume of *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-bahari* (Egypt Exploration Fund, 1907) is quoted as by Naville alone (which, of course, it was not: see the title-page), the third volume is distinctly stated on the title-page to be by us both, and this volume, at any rate, should therefore be quoted always as "by Naville and Hall", not as "by Naville" alone, as it is on p. 238, *à propos* of the inscription of the high-priest Amenemḥet, found during our excavations.

H. R. Hall.

THE ELEMENTS OF JAPANESE WRITING. By COMMANDER N. E. ISEMONGER, R.N. (Retd.). 11 × 9, pp. 253. Royal Asiatic Society (James G. Forlong Fund Publications, Vol. VIII). £1 5s.

This book would have been better entitled, "How to read Japanese," for its main purpose is to show how the Chinese characters, and their abbreviations the Kana, as used in printed Japanese, may be read, and translated into English.

The book is divided into two Sections, prefaced by an Introduction. Section II will be useful to students. The 400 Chinese characters it contains are presented, with their common pronunciations and their meanings in English, twenty at a time. After each twenty characters there are explanatory notes showing how the characters are used by the Japanese not only singly but in combinations of two or more characters, how these combinations of characters are pronounced by the Japanese, and what the pronunciations mean in English. There are additional notes in which the structure of the characters is examined and the student's attention drawn to similarities and differences between characters. When 100 characters have been examined, useful phrases and sentences in printed Japanese are introduced in which the 100 characters reappear. The Japanese reading of the phrases and sentences is given by a transliteration in Roman script and the sentences are translated into English. When 200 characters have been examined the sentences given embody the 200 characters, and when 300 and 400 characters have been examined they are revised in the same way. Throughout the Section the katakana and hiragana appear in their places in the Japanese sentences. This is a good method of introducing the student to simple printed Japanese. It is not tedious, and incidentally it provides the student with a useful vocabulary. But in order to understand all that he reads in Section II, the student must, as Commander Isemonger says in the Introduction to his book, have a knowledge of the grammar and syntax of Japanese, which he must obtain from other sources.

Section I of the book, to which Commander Isemonger has given the difficult title "Theoretical and practical Considerations of the Basis of Study", has four Chapters. In Chapter i Commander Isemonger describes how the Japanese borrowed the Chinese system of writing and modified it to suit the needs of their own language. In the Introduction, he recommends the beginner first to read Chapter i so as to get a broad view of the whole subject. But he has made Chapter i unnecessarily difficult for the beginner. He introduces the Chinese characters by saying that they are simply words. This will mislead the beginner to whom a word is something composed of the letters of an alphabet, and much of Chapter i will puzzle the beginner because he has not been shown, at the outset, that the Chinese characters are essentially pictures and not words.

Chapter ii explains the uses of the katakana, the hiragana, and romaji. Commander Isemonger gives much space to examples of the uses of these symbols, and the student who has mastered the contents of Chapter ii will have a good knowledge of how they are employed. The Chapter, however, contains many grammatical terms, such as "negative gerund", "second bases (indefinite forms) of verbs", "first (negative) bases of verbs," "post position," "teniwoha," the meaning of which the student will have to look for in other text books.

In Chapter iii Commander Isemonger explains how it has come about that a single Chinese character may, in Japanese, be pronounced in four or more different ways and have several different meanings; and in Chapter iv he deals with the origin of the Chinese characters and their growth from simple picture writing to complicated ideographs. There is useful material in Chapters iii and iv; but it would be more easily assimilable if Chapter iv were in its logical place at the beginning of the book, and if the student began by learning that the Chinese characters were originally pictures drawn with a brush. There are difficulties for the beginner in Chapters

iii and iv because Commander Isemonger, as in Chapter i, refers to the Chinese characters as " words " and at the same time uses " words " to mean spoken sounds. The general impression given by Section I of the book is that Commander Isemonger has made his subject more difficult for the beginner than it need be.

The format of the book as a whole is good, and convenient for study. There are a few blemishes in the text, e.g. :—

Page 20, section 34 : " it " is omitted after " employed ".

Page 52, section 136 : " in the event of any serious effort being made " should be " in case any serious effort should be made ".

Page 58, section 144 : " when working on the characters " is a solecism out of place in a text book on language.

Page 58, section 146 : The paragraph begins " Now the Chinese Language ", and the phrase is repeated a little further on, at the beginning of paragraph 150. The repetition grates on the ear.

Page 60, section 150 : " differ " should be " differs ".

Page 63, section 163 : " between " should be " among ".

Page 66, section 169 : NAMASHIMA should be NAMA-SHINA, and the characters preceding the word should be in the order NAN SHIN and not SHIN NAN.

Page 69, section 181 : " Japanese and " is omitted before " foreigners ".

Page 73, section 202 : DANJO is incorrectly given the abstract meaning " sex ".

Page 75, section 211 : " compound " should be " compounds ".

H. A. M.

HOBOGIRIN. Dictionnaire Encyclopédique de Bouddhisme d'après les sources chinoises et japonaises. By SYLVAIN LEVI, J. TAKAKUSU, PAUL DEMIÉVILLE. Premier fascicule: A-Bombai. 11 × 8, pp. iv + 96. Tôkyô: Maison Franco-Japonaise. 1929.

The Asiatic Societies which met in London in 1919, Paris in 1920, Brussels in 1921, expressed by unanimous vote a desire for a Dictionary of Buddhism founded on Chinese and Japanese texts. By the liberality of M. Ôtani, of Kyoto, and M. Wada, of Osaka, it is now found possible to respond to that request in the production of this valuable work, of which the first fascicule has recently been published. All those who are interested in Far Eastern Buddhism will welcome the appearance of this first number and look forward with pleasure to further issues.

The compilers are limiting themselves at present "aux termes techniques et aux noms propres d'ordre surnaturel". In a later book they hope to deal with historic persons, names of places, and canonical and literary works. Only Chinese and Japanese sources are represented, though Sanskrit, Pali, Tibetan, and the works of European orientalists are consulted for clearing up difficulties in the two principal sources. The work is admirably illustrated with reproductions, all from Japanese originals. The Japanese dictionaries of Buddhism of 1716, 1911, 1914–22, and 1927–28 "ont été dépouillés de façon méthodique"; the compilers have not necessarily accepted the interpretation of those works, but have made careful and original research in the canonical scriptures. Thus they have produced "une œuvre véritablement nouvelle, où la parole de la Bonne Loi et les interprétations des docteurs hindous, chinois et japonais de tous les âges, fussent mises à la portée de l'esprit occidental".

The Chinese characters are transcribed according to the Japanese pronunciation and the entries are arranged accordingly. This was no doubt necessary, but it somewhat

limits the use of the dictionary to readers with a knowledge of that language, until such time as the work is completed—as is promised—with an index of the characters themselves, either according to their radicals, or the number of strokes. Take, for instance, the difficulty of finding such a word as *patāka* under *Ban*. Of course, it would be equally difficult for a Japanese to find it under its Chinese equivalent *Fan*. A list of abbreviations is wisely supplied in a Supplement to the present fascicule. Its necessity will be observed from the following brief entry: "*Abishido* 阿 毘 私 度 sk. abhijit; Mvy. 3207 tib. byi bźiṅ, ch. nyo 女. Nom d'une maison lunaire. T 1300 II Quand on naît au temps où la lune quitte la maison nyo, on a beaucoup d'honneurs. La tc. n'est donnée que par Sgsk. II. Cf.* Shuku." It would not have been difficult to add that the nyo mansion is the 10th of the 28 zodiacal signs. Under *Ahadana*, "faire sortir la lumière" seems somewhat laboured for 出 曜. It is perhaps unfortunate that the usual small character type, so dear to the Japanese, has been used throughout. For its size it is remarkably clear, but an exception might have been made for the opening characters of each entry.

There are entries of length and value, such as those on the Sanskrit *a*, which occupies ten closely printed columns; Amida has 12 columns, Ashura 6, Baramon (brâhmaṇa) 7, Bishamon (Vaiśravaṇa) 10, Bodai (bodhi) 15, and Bombai (chant) unfinished 8. Other shorter entries are of equal value to these, an instance of which is the one on Araya (Sk. *ālaya*), in which the hīnayāna and mahāyāna views are contrasted. The Supplement gives ten pages of a provisional list of "termes techniques" French-Chinese-Sanskrit.

To give a cordial welcome to this first instalment of so valuable a work is as easy as it is difficult sufficiently to congratulate all who have, with such industry and learning, conferred this favour on us. The dictionary, when finished, should add to the number of occidental students of Mahāyāna Buddhism who are at present deterred from venturing on

page after page of text, peppered beyond the power of absorption with Sanskrit transliterations and terms used in an abnormal sense.

W. E. SOOTHILL.

SIR EDMUND HORNBY: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY. With an Introduction by D. L. MURRAY. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xiv + 396. London: Constable & Co., Ltd., 1928.

Edmund Grimani Hornby, after learning German and French so that he spoke both languages as well as he did English, left England in 1841 for Lisbon, where his Uncle Southern was Secretary of Legation and married to a Spanish lady. After a year and a half in Lisbon, Hornby accompanied his aunt to Madrid, where he seems to have become a sort of Don Juan *malgré lui*, and to have acquired Spanish unusually well. Later, again he accompanied his invalid aunt to England, where having entered his father's Law Office he was called to the Bar in 1848. Some two years after, he rescued a young Italian lady from drowning, and married her in 1850. After some four years of difficult finances chance befriended him and planted his feet in the direction that led to his future very useful and successful career. This chance turned on the true meaning of a Spanish word in a certain contract in which Hornby, when consulted, contested the accuracy of an official translation. Hornby was sent for by Lord Clarendon, then Foreign Secretary, who, himself a fine Spanish scholar, approved Hornby's view. From that date, he writes, "I got bundles of papers shied at my head from the F.O." And in due course he was sent out to Constantinople to manage with a French colleague a loan granted by France and England to the Turks to carry on the Crimean War. This naturally brought him into contact with Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the British ambassador. And Hornby records that this first contact was sharp and unpleasant, indeed it deserves to be described as a violent

bump. However, thanks to the Ambassadress, it ended well, and Hornby became the Great Elchee's hard-working and trusted adviser in connection with the Consular Courts of the Levant. Indeed, it was high time. At Lord Stratford's suggestion, Hornby drew up a regular judicial scheme for these Consular Courts which was adopted to the very great advantage of all concerned. After serving for some twelve years in Turkey, Hornby was asked by the Foreign Office if he would undertake to go out to China, and organize the British judicial service in that country and Japan, with the status of Chief Judge. He accepted the position, and having, while in London, drawn an Order in Council defining the jurisdiction of the new Court, proceeded in 1865 to Shanghai, where he established the Supreme Court, and incidentally issued extremely valuable Instructions to Consular Officers in their judicial capacity. He remained as Chief Judge in China till 1876, when his official career terminated.

Such is the skeletal outline of Sir Edmund Hornby's public life.

The book is an autobiography, and as such appears to be the self-expression of an honest, frank, energetic, and very able man of the world. It is the record of one who had seen men and cities, and who weighed both with a cool and keen judgment, but was not without sympathy in most cases. There are few dull pages, for Hornby had a strong sense of humour. Indeed his account of an interview he and his brother, then mere boys, had with the then head of the Rothschild firm at Frankfort, is really entertaining. The brothers had a Bill of Exchange for £33, for travelling expenses. Not being satisfied with their reception in the bank's outer office, they formed the impression that probably the bank could not find "so large an amount at a moment's notice". Rothschild, who was evidently enjoying the situation, on seeing the Bill seemed "struck with the amount", and appeared to be "intensely relieved" at Hornby's suggestion of ten pounds down and the balance later! The sequel and

the kindness shown to these two raw youths is delightfully told.

Hornby held very decided opinions, and often expresses them trenchantly, and certain passages, pages, and even chapters, are likely to meet with disagreement, suggest doubts, or excite exasperation in various quarters.

What will probably prove the most interesting part of the whole narrative to a majority of readers is the account of Hornby's service in Turkey as the special adviser in judicial matters of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, whose trusted friend he soon became, and always remained, until the Ambassador left Constantinople. Yet the first interview between these two was a sort of official hurricane, and that the same evening saw peace with honour restored on each side was a tribute to the high character of Lord Stratford, the right feeling and good sense of Hornby, and, above all, to the signal illustration afforded by the Ambassadress of the pregnant words *quid femina possit.*

L. C. HOPKINS.

IN GEHEIMEM AUFTRAG. By S. R. MINZLOFF. Mit 31 Abbildungen und drei Karten. 7¼ × 5¼, pp. 226. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1929. Translated from Russian into German by R. Frhr. v. Campenhausen.

This book gives considerable information about a little known part of Central Asia formerly called Uryankhai and forming since the War the Soviet Republic of Tana Tuva.

A kind of No Man's Land in pre-War days, the Russian Government had serious thoughts of annexing it by that quiet process of imperceptible advance so characteristic of Russain colonization in the past. To have done so would have been a breach of the treaty by which Russia had parted with this territory to China in exchange for that of Usuri (the strip of Pacific coastal territory stretching from Korea to the Arctic Ocean, and including the peninsula of Kamchatka, together with Sakhalin and other islands along the coast).

Chinese indifference to its possession had stimulated Russian interest in it. The first step towards annexation was taken when the Government took the inhabitants under its "protection", a measure against which Sasonov strongly protested on the ground that the Powers would regard it as a first attempt at the partition of China.

Early in 1914 Minzloff was sent by the Russian Foreign Office on a secret mission to explore the country. Travelling ostensibly as archaeologist, he was at the same time to gather information as to its soil, population, mineral wealth, and general fitness for colonial settlement.

Owing to the outbreak of the War, fourteen years were to pass before it was possible to publish the material obtained.

His book is a pleasant and readable account of his travels, of the country and its inhabitants. The last chapter is devoted to the results of his researches. The soil of Uryankhai teems with vestiges of the past. Graves and implements of the Bronze Age abound, and the information Minzloff gives about such specimens of these as he found and examined is valuable material for the study of comparative archaeology.

Minzloff makes no claim to have studied the country exhaustively. At the same time, his book probably contains the most general information about it, other travellers, amongst these the English explorer Douglas Carruthers, being more interested in particular aspects of it.

C. MABEL RICKMERS.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(April–June, 1930)

GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

10th April, 1930

The Marquess of Zetland, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society:—

Mr. Kutbudin Sultan, Sahib Bahadur.
Mr. Jogendranath Dutta.
Professor Choeth Ram.
Mr. Md. Abul Hasan Siddiqi.

Six nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Lieut.-Colonel Stephenson, I.M.S. (ret.), read a paper on "The Natural History of Mediaeval Islamic Authors".

Dr. Gaster spoke and the President offered the thanks of the meeting to the lecturer for his interesting paper.

An abstract of the paper follows:—

Colonel Stephenson said:—

In the Islamic East writers on zoology were in the past not, as in the West, physicians, but literary men. The earliest zoological writings consisted of collections of the names and epithets given by the Arabs to the animals of the desert, illustrated by quotations from the ancient Arabic poets; there were also a number of works devoted each to a special animal, e.g. the horse, enumerating its names, the names of the parts of its body, its desirable and undesirable qualities, describing its colours, etc.

Passing on to Jāḥiẓ (d. A.D. 869) we find zoology still a branch of literature; his *Kitāb al-Ḥayāwān* gives the grammatical structure and meanings of the names of animals, with anecdotes, reflections, and literary recollections, rather than their descriptions.

The *Jawāmi' al-Ḥikāyāt* ("Collections of Stories") of

Muḥammad 'Awfī (fl. thirteenth century A.D.) is a huge gathering of anecdotes, on all kinds of subjects, which contains four short chapters on animals. There is no logical division of the subject, and the whole zoological portion is hardly more than a collection of stories, with some account of the supposed useful properties of the animals. A number of fabulous beasts are also described.

The *'Aja'ib al-Makhlūqāt* ("Wonders of Creation") of Zakarīyā al-Qazwīnī was written in Arabic in A.D. 1263, and subsequently translated into Persian. This is a cosmography, and hence somewhat more seriously scientific in purpose than the *Jawāmi'*; the zoological section, however, does not form a large part of the work One hundred and thirty animals are described, among them again a number which are entirely mythical.

The *Nuzhat al-Qulūb* ("Hearts' Delight") of Ḥamdullāh al-Mustawfī al-Qazwīnī, completed A.D. 1340, was apparently meant to be a popular educator in science, from astronomy to psychology and ethics. Its author, as usual, was a literary man, a poet and historian, and had no practical acquaintance with science. The zoological part follows the method of previous writers; 228 animals are briefly described (thirty-seven kinds of fish, however, being counted as only one animal). Mythical animals again appear, and there are a number of crude mistakes, such as that the elephant has no joints in its legs (this is found in many ancient and mediaeval works, western as well as eastern), and that the porcupine shoots out its quills. As in previous works, but more systematically, the medical, and also what may be called the magical, uses of the various parts of the animals are given.

The last mediaeval zoological work is the *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayāwān* of Damīrī, a lawyer, which was completed in A.D. 1371. It is a large work, of 1,383 Arabic pages; but though it is so bulky, the amount of zoological information is scarcely more than that contained in the zoological part of the *Nuzhat*, perhaps one-twentieth of its size. It is really,

like the earlier works, philological and literary in its objects, and is composed mainly of anecdotes, grammatical disquisitions, citations of proverbs, traditions, legal decisions, the interpretations of dreams of animals, etc.

Compared with Aristotle, all these works show a great decline; none of the authors were observers, but only compilers without critical faculty. The condition of zoological science was, however, much the same in the west also; the period was one in which independent investigation was at a low ebb.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

15*th May*, 1930

The Marquess of Zetland, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society:—

Mr. Bibhu Pada Banerjee.	Mr. Kailash Nath Bhatnagar.
Mr. Md. Adbul Hamid Khan.	Dr. A. L. Dutta.
Mr. Md. Azizulla Khan.	Mr. Md. Jamaluddin Roomi.

Nine nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

The President: I have to ask you to pass a vote of sympathy with the relatives of two very distinguished Orientalists who recently died, and who were honorary members of this Society. I refer to Dr. von Le Coq, who was elected an honorary member in 1923, in recognition of his services to Oriental research both as an archaeologist and explorer; and by a somewhat pathetic coincidence the death took place within a few days of another distinguished honorary member of our Society, who was a colleague of Dr. von Le Coq, worked in the same field and in the same museum, Professor F. W. K. Müller.

May I remind the members of this Society of the great debt that we as English people owe to Dr. von Le Coq not only for his great scholarship, but for an act of great gallantry

by which, a good many years ago now, he saved the life of an English traveller. When he and Captain Shearer, as he was then, were travelling from Kashgar to Ladak, Captain Shearer fell ill and was unable to proceed further on the journey. Professor von Le Coq, who was only a travelling acquaintance of Captain Shearer, left with him all the valuable stores, taking the lightest possible equipment himself, and although he had himself been suffering quite recently from debility and dysentery, he made a journey involving the crossing of some of the highest passes in the Himalayan mountains on no less than three occasions in fourteen days, in order that he might secure succour for his sick fellow traveller. He was successful in his mission, and succeeded in getting Captain Shearer to safety. For that distinguished service he was awarded by the Order of St. John of Jerusalem the medal for saving life on land under circumstances of great personal danger, and for the first time in the history of that medal it was ordered to be struck in gold.

Report of the Council for 1929–1930

The Society has lost by death a distinguished Honorary Member, Sir Ernest Satow, and the following ordinary members :—

Mr. A. R. Duraswami Aiyengar.
Mr. George Bell.
Mr. Tara Chand (Delhi).
Mr. A. S. Cochran.
Mr. W. Coldstream.
Dr. Raghabar Dayal.
Rev. Dr. O. Hanson.
Dr. C. A. Hewavitarne.
H.H. The Maharaja of Jhalawar.
Khan Bahadur T. Malak.
Mr. B. Prokash Del Mitter.
Rai Bahadur Sardar Hotu Singh.
Sir Ramesvara Singh, Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga.
Rev. John Tuckwell.

The following members have resigned :—

Mr. C. E. Ball.
Mr. J. T. O. Barnard.
Professor C. Raymond Beazley.
Dr. Karanjaksha Bonnerjee.
Mr. Charanjiva.
Mr. B. A. Fernandez.

Mr. M. Jinavijaya.
Sir George Maxwell.
Miss Murray.
Rai Bahadur Sheo Narain.
Mr. E. J. Pilcher.
Munshi Mahesh Prasad.
Mr. Hem Chandra Rai.
Pandit B. Nath Sharma.
Rev. W. Sharrett.
Mr. T. I. Tambyah.
Rev. E. J. Thompson.
Sir Lionel Tomkins.

Under Rule 25*d* the following have ceased to be members of the Society :—

Mr. N. S. Adhikari.
Mr. Syed Azhar Ali.
Mr. C. D. H. Ball.
Mr. Sasadhar Banerji.
Professor L. Ganga Bishen.
Mr. H. S. Bonsor.
Mr. Pierre Cardeillac.
Professor Tara Chand.
Babu Nutbihari Chatarji.
Mr. Sanat K. Chatterjie.
Mr. Rai Bahadur Munshi B. Sen Darbari.
Maulvi A. R. Dard.
Mr. Nibaranchandra Das-Gupta.
Mr. J. Mohan Datta.
The Rev. Thos. Fish.
Mr. Maung Maung Gyi.
Mr. Majid-ul Hasan.
Sir Lionel B. H. Hawarth.
Mr. Md. Latifuddin Idrisi.
Mr. Chandra Bhal Johri.
Mr. Shima Chandra Kapoor.
Mr. M. P. Kharey.
Mr. Har Pratap Singh Kunwar.
Mr. Riaz Ahmad Kureishy.
Mr. N. X. Majumdar.
Mr. A. K. M. Mohideen Maricair.
Pandit S. Nath Misra.
Mr. W. R. Samiappa Mudaliar.
Mr. Rai Bahadur C. Naidu.
Mr. Nar Narain Prasad.
Mr. R. Prosad.
Professor M. Md. Rahimuddin.
Mr. Syed Mobinur Rahman.
Mr. Lala Sant Ram.
Mr. Bagalakanta Roy.
Mr. Brajendranath Sarkar.
Professor S. C. Sarkar.
Mr. Lalit Kumar Shah.
Mr. Nand Lal Shah.
Mr. Samuel Singh.
Sirdar Harbans Singh.
Mr. Har Swarup Singhal.
Mr. V. N. Singh.
Mr. P. I. D. Sinha.
Mr. Kumar Gangananda Sinha.
Mr. Akshay Kumar Sircar.
Mr. Nirunjun Sircar.
Mr. J. G. Thompson.

To fill the vacancy caused by the death of Sir Ernest Satow, the Council selected the eminent scholar of Chinese, Dr. Bernhard Karlgren, of Göteborg, Sweden.

The following have taken up their election as Resident Members :—

Mr. D. D. Dickson.
Lieut.-Col. E. R. Rost.
Mrs. W. Sedgwick.
Mr. H. W. Sheppard.
Col. J. Stephenson.

The following as Non-Resident Members :—

Mr. A. E. Affifi.
Mr. S. Mohiuddin Ahmad.
Mr. S. Sivarama Krishna Aiyar.
Mr. Sajunlal Kasim Ali.
Mr. Asa Ram Kaushic Asar.
Pandit Shri Vishvambhar.
Nath Bajpai.
Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea.
Mr. Waman Sheodas Barlingay.
Mr. Purna Gopal Basu.
Mr. Balkishen Batra.
Mr. Bishen Das Batra.
Munshi Md. Ansaruddin Sahib Bekhud, " Afsar-ush-Shuara."
Miss Elsie Benkard.
Mr. Nand Lal Singh Bhalla.
Dr. Mathumal Kallaty Bhaskaran.
Mr. F. C. Bugga.
Mr. D. A. J. Cardozo.
Mr. Hakam Chand.
Mr. Veerasimha C. V. Chetty.
Miss Susan Lowell Clarke.
Mr. Lalbhai Dholakeya.
Mr. Radharaman Ganguli.
Mr. C. H. Abdul Ghani.
Mr. Hazari Lall Gupta.
Mr. Ramchhodlal Gyani.
Pandit Viyoji Hari.
Mr. Jagunnath Hoare.
Mr. Syed Sabir Husain.
Miss Hameed Husain.
Mr. Sheo Charan Lal Jain.
Mr. K. P. Jha.
Mr. Kishore Chand Joshi.
Babu Sitaram Kanaujia.
Mr. Gopi Krishna.
Mr. Kumariah Gopal Krishnan.
Rai Sahib Asharfi Lal.
Syed Abdul Majid.
Mr. Lal Chhanganlal K. Mathur.
Rev. Father C. Mattam.
Mr. Seth G. M. Modi.
Mr. Fazl Abdul Moheet.
Mr. Ashutosh Mukkerjee.
Munshi Rashid Ahmed.
Dr. S. Mangapatti Naidu.
Mr. Chand Narain.
Mr. O. J. Sundaram Nayadu.
Mr. K. Palanniappan.
Mr. Amarnath Pargal.
Pandit T. A. K. Pathy.
Mr. H. C. V. Philpot.
Rao Sahib C. Y. Doraswami Pillai.
Mr. Parashu Ram.
Mr. P. K. Ramaswami.
Mr. V. L. Narayana Rao.
Mr. L. Latta Prasad Rathore.
Saiyed Masum Ali Rizwi.
Major G. Rooke.

Mr. F. B. Rosenthal.
Mr. Kunwar Chand Karan Sarda.
Mr. T. E. V. Sarma.
Mr. Mata Prasad Saxena.
Mr. Amar Sen.
Mr. G. M. Sewell.
Mr. K. Shanmukham.
Mr. S. N. Shehabuddin.
Mr. Kunwar Prem P. Singh.
Thakur Rama Palat Singh.
Mrs. de Beauvoir Stocks.
Mr. M. L. Varma.
Professor Khwaja Abdul Wajid.
Mr. M. Zainulabidin.

The following as Non-resident Compounders :—

Mr. F. H. Beswick.
The Raja of Kalsia.
Mr. Tribhuvandas L. Shah.
Khan Ahmad Sahib Ali Soofee.

Lectures.—The following lectures have been delivered :—

"My Central Asian Expedition," by Dr. W. Filchner (in conjunction with the Central Asian Society).

"Travels in the Alai-Pamirs," by Mr. W. Rickmer Rickmers (in conjunction with the Central Asian Society).

"The Arabians," by Mr. Eldon Rutter.

"The Dynasty of the Al Bu Said in Arabia and East Africa," by Mr. Rudolph Said-Ruete (in conjunction with the Central Asian Society).

"The Aqsa Mosque and the Church of Justinian," by Mr. K. A. C. Creswell.

"Alexander's Campaigns on the North-west Frontier of India," by Sir Aurel Stein (in conjunction with the Central Asian Society).

"Results of the Excavations at Kish, Season 1928–9, by the Herbert Weld (for Oxford) and Field Museum Expedition," by Professor S. Langdon.

"The Chittagong Hill Tracts," by Mr. J. P. Mills.

"The Origins of Arabic Poetry," by Mr. H. A. R. Gibb.

"The Drama in Ancient Egypt," by Dr. A. M. Blackman.

"The People of Sinkiang," by Mr. R. F. A. Schomberg.

"The Natural History of Mediæval Islamic Authors," by Lt.-Colonel J. Stephenson.

The Finance report for 1929 shows again an unusually heavy expenditure on the house, as a report from the builders showed the necessity of many sanitary improvements. Even with this the sum of £75 is still shown as a receipt over expenditure and £125 representing compounders' subscriptions has been treated as Capital and invested according to the Rules.

The Oriental Translation Fund has just undertaken the publication of the text and translation of a Newari MS. in the Cambridge University Library. The MS. contains the Newari translation of the shorter form of the Vicitrakarṇikāvādana, and the work of editing and translating it is being done by Dr. Hans Jørgensen, a Danish scholar.

During the year a much needed reprint of the *Harṣa-Carita*, vol. viii, of the Oriental Translation Fund by the late Professor Cowell and Professor F. W. Thomas, was brought out.

The Prize Publication Fund has published, as promised last year, the volume by Sir George Grierson entitled *Torwali*, and in addition an important work, *The Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Linguistic Morphology*, by Mr. Stuart N. Wolfenden. The expenses of this latter volume are entirely borne by Mr. Wolfenden.

The Forlong Fund has published the volumes announced last year: *Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians*, by Professor Siddheshwar Varma; *The Elements of Japanese Writing*, by Commander Isemonger; and two volumes by Mr. Hadi Hasan, *Falaki-i-Shirwani, His Life and Time*, and *Falaki-i-Shirwani, His Diwan*. The *Dictionary of the Nepali Language, with Etymological Notes*, edited by Professor R. L. Turner, to which the Fund has contributed £200, is now in the press, and is expected to be published this year.

The Public School Gold Medal has been won by Mr. C. L. Rosenheim, of Bromsgrove School, Worcestershire, for his essay on "The Relations between Great Britain and Afghanistan". The Medal is being presented to-day.

The task of revising the entries in the Catalogue is proceeding, but owing to the pressure of other work on both Dr. Barnett and Mr. Ellis, the Council fears that the printing will not be started this year.

The catalogue of the Chinese Library has been revised, and should later on be reprinted.

The Chinese books have been put in order and placed in a room by themselves. No additions have been made to the Chinese Library for many years, and your Council have in view the desirability of steps being taken to bring it up to date.

The Carnegie grant of £400 a year for three years is now in its third year. Owing to the liberality of the Trustees, much very necessary binding has been done, and valuable additions have been made to the Library.

The recommendation of the Council for filling vacancies on the Council for the ensuing year 1930–31 are as follows :—

Under Rules 29, 30, 32, Professor Margoliouth retires from the office of Director, Dr. Barnett from the office of Vice-President, and Mr. Driver, Sir Denison Ross, and Mr. Yetts from the Council.

The Council recommend that Sir Edward Maclagan be elected Director, Professor Margoliouth and Sir Denison Ross Vice-Presidents, and Dr. Barnett, Mr. Clauson, and Professor Turner ordinary members of the Council.

Under Rule 31, Sir J. H. Stewart Lockhart, Mr. Perowne, and Mr. Ellis retire from the office of Honorary Secretary, Honorary Treasurer, and Honorary Librarian respectively. The Council recommend their re-election.

Under Rule 81 the Council recommend Mr. Hopkins and Sir Richard Burn as Honorary Auditors and Messrs. Price, Waterhouse & Co. as Auditors for the ensuing year.

It is with very real regret that the Council have to record the impending retirement of their Secretary from the office which she has filled with so much advantage to the Society

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND

RECEIPTS

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
SUBSCRIPTIONS—		
Resident Members	287 5 0	
Non-Resident Members	1,010 19 3	
Student Members	10 6	
Non-Resident Compounders	57 0 0	
		1,355 14 9
RENTS RECEIVED		645 0 0
GRANTS FROM INDIA AND COLONIAL OFFICES—		
Government of India	315 0 0	
" Hong-Kong	25 0 0	
" Straits Settlements	20 0 0	
" Federated Malay States	40 0 0	
		400 0 0
SUNDRY DONATIONS		67 5 0
GRANT FOR LIBRARY FROM CARNEGIE TRUST		400 0 0
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—		
Subscriptions	484 8 4	
Additional Copies sold	232 16 0	
Pamphlets sold	2 16 6	
		720 0 10
DIVIDENDS		76 0 11
CENTENARY VOLUME SALES		2 6 0
CENTENARY SUPPLEMENT SALES		1 2 10
COMMISSION ON SALE OF BOOKS		2 18 3
INTEREST ON DEPOSIT ACCOUNT		21 13 9
PUBLICATION FEE		20 0 0
SALE OF LIBRARY BOOKS		45 17 0
BALANCE IN HAND 31ST DECEMBER, 1928—		
Current Account.	162 14 0	
Deposit Account.	300 0 0	
		462 14 0
		£4,220 13 4

INVESTMENTS.

£350 5 per cent War Loan, 1929-47.
£1,426 1*s.* 10*d.* Local Loans 3 per cent Stock.
£132 16*s.* 3*d.* 4½ per cent Treasury Bonds, 1932-34.
£777 1*s.* 1*d.* 4 per cent Funding Stock 1960-90.

AYMENTS FOR THE YEAR 1929

PAYMENTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
OUSE ACCOUNT—						
Rent and Land Tax	503	4	6			
Rates, less contributed by Tenants	27	3	7			
Gas and Light, do.	81	7	9			
Coal and Coke, do.	30	4	11			
Telephone	16	8	10			
Cleaning	18	4	4			
Insurance	28	12	6			
Repairs, Renewals, etc.	136	15	1			
				842	1	6
EASEHOLD REDEMPTION FUND				20	10	6
ALARIES AND WAGES				765	12	6
RINTING AND STATIONERY				58	3	11½
OURNAL ACCOUNT—						
Printing	1,018	16	5			
Postage	80	0	0			
				1,098	16	5
IBRARY EXPENDITURE				588	1	4
Of which the following is allocated to the Grant from the Carnegie Trust—						
Cataloguing	68	9	3			
Books	174	7	8			
Binding Books	96	13	1			
Binding MSS.	110	10	0			
	*450	0	0			
ENERAL POSTAGE				61	6	1½
UDIT FEES				9	9	0
UNDRY EXPENSES—						
Teas	17	12	1			
Lectures	33	18	4			
National Health and Unemployment Insurance	12	3	5			
Other General Expenditure	52	8	6			
				116	2	4
URCHASE OF £141 18s. 6d. 4% INSCRIBED FUNDING STOCK				125	10	0
ALANCE IN HAND, 31ST DECEMBER, 1929—						
Current Account	234	19	8			
Deposit Account	300	0	0			
				534	19	8
				£4,220	13	4

NOTE: Of this sum £50 is covered by the unexpended balance of the Grant of £400 for 1928.

have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society, and have verified the investments therein described, and hereby certify the said Abstract to be true and correct.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

Countersigned { L. C. HOPKINS, Auditor for the Council.
RICHARD BURN, Auditor for the Society.

SPECIAL FUNDS

Oriental Translation Fund

Date	Receipts	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	Date	Payments	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1929. Jan. 1.	Balance		396 11 6	1929.	Printing and Binding Vol. XXX	196 10 0	
	Sales		124 6 7		Reproducing Vol. XXIX	57 14 0	
	Interest on Deposit Account		9 2 3		Sundries	3 18 5	
							258 2 5
				Dec. 31.	Balance carried to Summary		271 17 11
			£530 0 4				£530 0 4

Asiatic Monograph Fund

Date	Receipts	£ s. d.	Date	Payments	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Jan. 1.	Balance	145 0 11		Printing and Binding Vol. XX	127 6 8	
	Sales	26 4 9		Sundries	1 1 0	
						128 7 8
			Dec. 31.	Balance carried to Summary		42 18 0
		£171 5 8				£171 5 8

SUMMARY OF SPECIAL FUND BALANCES

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Oriental Translation Fund	271 17 11	Cash at Bank—	
Asiatic Monograph Fund	42 18 0	On Current Account	114 15 11
		,, Deposit Account	200 0 0
	£314 15 11		£314 15 11

Leasehold Redemption Fund

1929.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	1929.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Jan. 1.	Balance		174 1 10	Dec. 31.	Balance—		
	Transfer from General Account . . .		20 10 6		Represented by £189 16s. 7d. 5 per cent War Loan, 1929/47 . . .	194 12 4	
	Dividends Received to be Invested . . .		9 9 8		Cash at Bank . . .	9 9 8	
							204 2 0
			£204 2 0				£204 2 0

TRUST FUNDS

Prize Publications Fund

		£ s. d.	£ s. d.			£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Jan. 1.	Balance		26 12 0		Printing and Binding Vol. XI	131 7 9	
	Sales	35 7 1			Sundries	4 6	
	Dividends	18 0 0					131 12 3
			53 7 1	Dec. 31.	Balance Carried to Summary		48 6 10
	Grant from High Commissioner of India . .		100 0 0				
			£179 19 1				£179 19 1

Gold Medal Fund

		£ s. d.			£ s. d.
Jan. 1.	Balance	46 6 5	Dec. 31.	Balance Carried to Summary	56 1 5
	Dividends	9 15 0			
		£56 1 5			£56 1 5

Public Schools' Gold Medal Fund

1929.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	1929.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Jan. 1.	Balance		82 1 2		Cost of Medal	6 5 0	
	Dividends		20 15 4		Expenses of Presentation	3 0 0	
					Advertising	2 10 0	
							11 15 0
				Dec. 31.	Balance carried to Summary		91 1 6
			£102 16 6				£102 16 6

SUMMARY OF TRUST FUND BALANCES

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Prize Publication Fund	48 6 10	Cash at Bank—	
Gold Medal Fund	56 1 5	On Current Account	195 9 9
Public Schools' Gold Medal Fund	91 1 6		
	£195 9 9		£195 9 9

Trust Funds

£600 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "B" Stock (Prize Publication Fund).

£325 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "A" Stock (Gold Medal Fund).

£645 11*s*. 2*d*. Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "B" Stock (Public Schools' Gold Medal Fund).

£40 3½ per cent Conversion Stock (Public Schools' Gold Medal Fund).

I have examined the above Statement with the books and vouchers, and hereby certify the same to be correct. I have also had produced to me certificates for the Stock Investments and Bank Balances.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

Countersigned { L. C. HOPKINS, Auditor for the Council.
RICHARD BURN, Auditor for the Society.

March, 1930.

BURTON MEMORIAL FUND

	Receipts	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		Payments	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1929. Jan. 1.	Balance		1 8 10	1929 Dec. 31.	Cash at Bank on Current Account		2 18 2
	Dividends		1 9 4				
			£2 18 2				£2 18 2

Investment.
£49 0*s*. 10*d*. 3% Local Loans.

JAMES G. B. FORLONG FUND

	Receipts	£ s. d.		Payments	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Jan. 1.	Balance	369 5 11		Printing and Binding Vol. VI	102 14 6	
	Dividends	210 4 6		Photographing Plates, Vol. VI	3 3 3	
	Sale of Books	58 12 6		Reproducing Vol. V	65 1 0	
	Refunded by School of Oriental Studies	93 4 7		Printing and Binding Vol. VII	127 8 7	
				Printing and Binding Vol. VIII	344 8 3	
				Binding Vol. II	1 6 0	
						644 1 7
				School of Oriental Studies Bursary		50 0 0
				10% Commission on 1928 Sales		2 18 3
				Sundries		1 4 6
			Dec. 31.	Cash at Bank— On Current Account		33 3 2
		£731 7 6				£731 7 6

Investments.

£1,005 14*s*. 7*d*. New South Wales 4 per cent Stock, 1942–62.
£1,015 16*s*. 3*d*. South Australian Government 4 per cent Inscribed Stock, 1940–60.
£1,010 Bengal Nagpur Railway 4 per cent Debenture Stock.
£1,143 6*s*. 3*d*. India 3 per cent Inscribed Stock.
£700 Conversion Loan 3½ per cent.
£45 East India Railway Company Annuity, Class "B"
£253 18*s*. 4*d*. 5 per cent War Loan, 1929–47.

I have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society and have verified the Investments therein described, and I certify the said Abstracts to be true and correct.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.
Countersigned { L. C. HOPKINS, Auditor for the Council. RICHARD BURN, Auditor for the Society.

March, 1930.

for so long. For a period of thirteen years Mrs. Frazer served the Society as Assistant Secretary under the late Professor Rhys Davids, and from 1904 with a break of ten years between 1917 and 1927, up to the present time, she has placed her wide knowledge and experience at the Society's disposal. The Council desire to take this opportunity of placing on record an expression of their gratitude to Mrs. Frazer for her services and a sense of the loss which the Society is sustaining by her retirement.

The Hon. Treasurer: I am glad to tell you that our financial position this year has decidedly improved and is considerably better than it was this time last year. Our membership has increased, and it is membership that really counts. The donations include the £25 from the Duke of Westminster to which reference was made last year, but which only came into this year's accounts. The *Journal* account is the one which is perhaps the most satisfactory as regards its increase. It is about £130 more than last year, and includes £232 for additional copies sold, a rather large amount, but we hope to have a surprise of the same sort this year. For the rest, dividends are slightly increased, and we hope this will continue, because it means an addition to our invested capital funds. The *Journal* is maintained at a high level, not only in quality but also in quantity, and this gets reflected in the receipts. We wind up the year with an increase in our credit balance of £72 over last year. The sum of £300 appearing on the accounts as on deposit at the end of last year includes £200 earmarked to assist in the printing of the catalogue when ready. Of special funds there is nothing particular to say. They speak for themselves, and you see what we have expended there. I will conclude by saying once more how grateful I am to the Assistant Secretary, Mrs. Davis, for all her help and assistance and the work she has given to the accounts during the year.

Sir Edward Gait: The Society has to deplore the loss of one of its most distinguished honorary members, Sir Ernest

Satow, who was famous both as a great diplomatist and as a scholar, possessing quite an exceptional knowledge of the language, literature, and history of Japan. The Society has also to deplore the loss of a distinguished Indian ordinary member, Maharajadhiraja Sir Rameshwara Singh, of Darbhanga. He was held in the highest esteem by orthodox Hindus throughout India, and did a great deal to promote the study of Sanskrit in Bihar.

The Society has had a successful year. The *Journal* has maintained its usual high standard. Seven volumes have been published, including a much-needed reprint of the *Harṣa-Carita*, by the late Professor Cowell and Professor F. W. Thomas. Thanks to the generous Carnegie grant, great improvements have been made in the library; over 100 new volumes have been purchased; 300 books and manuscripts have been bound, and a great number of pamphlets have been arranged according to subjects, and placed in 300 pamphlet cases. Twelve lectures have been delivered under the auspices of the Society, four of them in conjunction with the Central Asian Society. The number of libraries subscribing to the *Journal* has risen from 195 to 234 in the last five years. When we come to the question of membership the position is not so satisfactory. The Society seems no longer to be attracting members from the great Indian Services who formed such a large proportion of the active workers of the Society in the past. In the last three years we have only had two new recruits from the Indian Civil Service and not a single one from the Indian Educational Service. The articles in the *Journal* cover such a wide range that only a comparatively small proportion of them can appeal to any ordinary individual, but the *Journal* also contains reviews by experts on all-important Oriental publications which are most useful to any one wishing to keep himself abreast of the progress of knowledge in this sphere. The lectures also deal with subjects of general interest. Then there is the library. Apart from these personal considerations,

the mere fact that our Society is the mainstay of Oriental research in this country should be sufficient to attract a considerable number of members of the Indian Services. Possibly a special effort might be made in order to bring the advantages of membership to the notice of members of the Services in India, and also to those who have retired.

Since the conclusion of the year, Mrs. Frazer, our Secretary, has tendered her resignation. Mrs. Frazer has only been Secretary for three years on the present occasion, but she was Secretary previously for thirteen years, and before that served for thirteen years as Assistant Secretary. She possesses a wonderful experience of the work of the Society in all its branches, and it will be very difficult to find an equally competent successor. The Council, in the paragraph in the Report which Mrs. Frazer did not read, have placed on record an expression of their gratitude to Mrs. Frazer for her services and the sense of the loss which the Society is sustaining by her retirement.

In conclusion, the Society is very greatly indebted to its President for his wise guidance on their work, and for the constant supervision which he exercises over all branches of the Society's activities.

Dr. Grahame Bailey: In seconding the adoption of the Report, my mind is led to think of the advantages of a society such as ours, and one that I should specially like to mention now is that of fellowship with distinguished scholars. Those who can attend the monthly meetings have the opportunity—a very valuable opportunity—of getting to know men whose names are known all over the world. I think that is a matter of considerable importance. A second direction in which this fellowship may be experienced is in our list of honorary members. It is a very important thing that men who are distinguished in other countries feel that they have a special bond with us, and naturally if they meet any of our members abroad or have an opportunity of visiting this country, those bonds are strengthened, and that means the strengthening

of the bonds between the countries. The third attraction that occurs to me is the encouragement of young scholars. I think that is part of the fellowship of our Society. As regards the work that we do in publication, we ought to take note of the authors we are enabled to assist. Several works of importance are being published, and perhaps without being invidious, one might say the most important of all just now is that on which Professor Turner is engaged. The Forlong Fund has contributed £200 towards its publication. Though it has the title of a dictionary its range is very much wider than that word suggests. It is really a comparative dictionary of many of the languages of India, and will be of the very greatest value. It is unique in its own sphere, and nearly unique in other spheres, and will be invaluable to many.

The President: Before putting the motion which has been moved and seconded, may I just in a few words express my gratitude to Sir Edward Gait for the very kind remarks which he made with regard to myself as President of this Society, and may I also associate myself with him most heartily in all that he said with regard to our Secretary, Mrs. Frazer. During the past two years as your President, I have had ample opportunity of gauging the value of the services which are being rendered, and for many years past have been rendered, to this Society by Mrs. Frazer, and I can state it as my deliberate opinion that in her retirement the Society is sustaining a loss which it will indeed be very difficult to make good. And now may I just say one word about the *Journal* of the Society, which under the capable editorship of Mrs. Frazer has attained a very high standard of scholarship. Indeed, the very fact that the *Journal* has become such a mine of erudition has given rise to some criticisms. It has been said that it is far too heavy reading for the ordinary reader, or for anybody who is not a specialist. It has been said that many of the articles are so technical that they are intelligible only to specialists in that particular branch of learning and research with which they deal. I do admit that

the articles which find a place in our *Journal* are often of a standard which is above the taste of the general reader, and I go further than that and I say that if they were not, the *Journal* would not be fulfilling the purpose for which it exists. After all, our *Journal* does not exist to provide light literature for the general reader. It exists in order that it may make accessible to those who require it the latest result of the research work of scholars in their different branches of learning. Let me mention as a proof of the value which scholars place upon our *Journal* that only a short time ago two Oriental Universities applied to this Society for complete sets of it. We found some little difficulty in bringing together complete sets; indeed, we were not wholly successful in doing so, but in spite of that, each of those two Universities has paid a large sum for the volumes we are able to supply. And then our Library—that serves a somewhat similar purpose. We have a valuable collection of something like 40,000 volumes which are at the disposal of students in Oriental subjects. And we are engaged at the present time on a heavy task—that of providing an adequate catalogue of the many valuable books our library contains. In this connection may I take the opportunity of placing on record the debt of gratitude which this Society owes to the Carnegie Trust? Without their aid the completion of such a catalogue would have been altogether beyond our powers.

May I put the motion to the meeting that this Report, which has been proposed and seconded, be adopted.

The Report was adopted, and the recommendations for the re-election of officers, the filling of vacancies on the Council, and the appointment of auditors were accepted.

Public School Gold Medal Presentation

After an interval for tea, the meeting reassembled, and the President presented the Public School Gold Medal for 1929 to Mr. C. L. Rosenheim, of Bromsgrove School.

The President: It falls to my lot as President of the Royal Asiatic Society, to present this afternoon the prizes and the gold medal which have been won by the successful writers of essays upon "The Relations between Great Britain and Afghanistan". But since we have reached something in the nature of a crisis in the history of this gold medal, may I just remind you very briefly of the original intentions of those patriotic Indian gentlemen who founded it. It was founded nearly a quarter of a century ago to encourage amongst the boys of our public schools in this country interest in the affairs of India. The Royal Asiatic Society was invited by these gentlemen to administer the fund which they had created, and to see that their wishes were given effect to. Under the rules which were drawn up under the terms of the original trust in 1907, some seven schools were listed as being eligible to take part in competitions for the prizes and the gold medal. The intention of the founders was that in each of those seven schools a separate competition should take place between scholars of the schools; that these examinations should be held by, and under the management and control of, the school authorities, and that the winning essays should be determined by those authorities in each case. When that had been done, the winner in each of the different school competitions was eligible for one of the prizes, and it was laid down that those who had won prizes should then have their essays submitted to the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society in order that they might determine which amongst all the prize-winners was the most meritorious, and so award to him the gold medal. It was also laid down as a condition of any school becoming eligible for this competition that they should undertake to give a course of instruction to the boys in their school on Indian history and geography. But I am sorry to say that experience has shown that it has not been possible to carry out exactly the intentions of the founders. The pressure upon the curriculum of the public schools of the present day is so great that it is practically

impossible for them to arrange for separate courses for their boys on Indian history and geography; and then again as a result no doubt of this pressure, it was found by degrees that the seven schools originally listed as eligible for taking part in the competition were quite incapable of providing enough candidates to make a really satisfactory competition. The Royal Asiatic Society therefore added very largely to the number of schools which were eligible, and I think this year that no less than eighty schools could, if they had wished, have arranged for boys to enter for the competition. Out of those eighty schools four competitors only have been produced. I have mentioned these facts this afternoon because the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society have now been driven to the conclusion that some alteration will probably have to be made in the conditions of the Trust, and it is possible that during the coming year, therefore, no competition will be arranged for, since we are in negotiation at the present time with the Board of Education with regard to making certain rather important changes.

Having disposed of the history of the Trust, let me come to the particular essay which we have been asked to consider this afternoon. The winning prize, which carries with it the gold medal, has been awarded to Mr. Charles Leslie Rosenheim, of Bromsgrove School, Worcestershire. The second prize winner is Mr. Arthur Harold Bowman, of Nottingham High School; the third prize-winner is Sir Archibald Philip Hope, of Eton, and the fourth candidate to whom a prize has been awarded is Mr. Dennis Alan Routh, of Winchester College. I am told by the examiners that these prizes have been well and worthily won. Let us just consider for a moment what are the essentials of a good essay on a subject of this kind. They are, of course, in the first place a picture of events of unchallengeable historical accuracy; but a mere recital of events in their correct chronological order is not in itself history. History is something more than that. The mere events recited in their chronological order are of importance as constituting the

dry bones of history, but before it becomes a living thing, those dry bones must be clothed with flesh and blood. That is to say the causes of the different events which are strung together must be examined and so far as possible explained by the essayist, and that in its turn involves a consideration of the personalities of, and the motives actuating, the chief figures in the drama which is being described; and then there must be an adequate description of the stage on which, so to speak, the drama takes place. The winning essay shows that its author has realized the influence which geographical conditions so often have upon the evolution of human history. He has pointed out very rightly that the physical character of Afghanistan has been very largely responsible for the history of that country. He has pointed out that it is a rugged land of mountains difficult to be traversed, inhabited by a congeries of wild tribes, possessed with the love of freedom and independence, which one so often finds associated with mountain peoples; and I think it is probably true to say that if Afghanistan, instead of being a land of rugged mountains such as the author of this essay has described, had been a fertile plain, then the frontiers of Great Britain and Russia in Asia would long before now have been coterminous. Then the writer of the winning essay has realized the importance of considering the personalities of the chief figures engaged in the story of the relations between Afghanistan and Great Britain. It must be quite obvious to everybody, I think, that the exuberant personality of a Viceroy like Lord Lytton, the dominating personality of a Viceroy like Lord Curzon, the reserved and restrained personality of a Viceroy like Lord Northbrook, the personality of a Viceroy with the liberal sympathies and traditions of a man like Lord Ripon—all these personalities will react very differently when they are brought into contact with difficult and delicate problems such as those which have arisen in the course of the relations between Great Britain and Afghanistan. I am interested, for example, in his description of the policy of

Lord Auckland when he was Viceroy. He rather naturally, perhaps, condemns it somewhat severely, but he goes on to say of Lord Auckland: "yet the Governor-General was an honest man. He had done excellent work in the past, and was a man of peace." And he explains that Lord Auckland's policy could not be attributed solely to Lord Auckland, but that it was largely influenced by the fear amongst the Directors in this country, of the ambitious policy of the Russian Empire.

Ladies and gentlemen, I must not weary you longer with observations of this kind, but I will conclude by offering the prize-winners my warm congratulations on their industry and their success. I have very much pleasure in handing to Mr. Rosenheim both the prize to which he is entitled—the specially bound copy of Lord Roberts' *Forty-one Years in India*—and also the gold medal to which he is entitled as the winner among the competitors. And I now have the pleasure of handing to the other prize-winner who has been able to come here this afternoon, Sir Archibald Hope, the prize which has been awarded to him.

Dr. Routh, Headmaster of Bromsgrove School: I am sure that almost every headmaster places this competition of the Royal Asiatic Society on a totally different footing from any other. It is not that merely it is the oldest. That is a small thing, but it is that it most wisely requires that every school competing shall have as part of its normal teaching Indian history. In other words that there shall be in every school competing a proper contribution made to the teaching of almost the most important subject in our curriculum. But there is something else. There is one thing of which the public schools of England have, I believe, a rare right to be proud, and it is the contribution they have made through a long period of years to the government of India. I am not referring simply to whose who have attained a very high place in that magnificent service, but to those who very often in remote districts and under difficult

circumstances, bear the burden and heat of the day and do in their time a very great work. It is notorious that it is not so easy at the present day to find men of the same calibre to fill their places. A competition of this kind by stimulating knowledge and interest in a public school may very easily awaken here and there an enthusiasm amongst some upon whom this burden in the future should properly fall. I desire to thank the Society for this competition.

19th June, 1930

The Marquess of Zetland, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society:—

Mr. Mumtaz Hasan Ahsan.
Mr. William Edward David Allen.
Syed Iltifat Husain.
Mr. Mohammad Mir Khan.
Lt. Dewan Rameshwar Nath Puri.
Mr. Chimanlal J. Shah.
Madame B. P. Wadia.
Major Arthur Deane Molony.
Mr. S. S. Basawanal, M.A.

Five nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Professor D. S. Margoliouth read a paper entitled "Sidelights on Islamic History and Customs in the Fourth Century A.H.".

An abstract of the lecture follows:—

When the Royal Asiatic Society published the first volume of Muḥassin Tanūkhī's *Table-talk of a Mesopotamian Judge*, no other of the eleven volumes was known to be in existence; since then a copy of the eighth volume has been identified in an anonymous MS. of the British Museum, and is being published in the *Revue de l'Académie Arabe* of Damascus, with English translation in *Islamic Culture*. Of another volume, the second, a copy has been obtained by Aḥmad Pasha Tīmūr of Cairo, who has generously permitted the lecturer to have rotographs made of it. In this paper selected anecdotes are

translated, illustrating the contributions which this volume furnishes to our knowledge of the history and customs of the Caliphate during or near the author's time.

The first anecdote gives a complete account of a political intrigue connected with Mu'taḍid's vizier al-Qāsim b. 'Ubaidallāh, of which Ṭabari's Chronicle contains little more than a hint; the second puts Mu'taḍid's character in a favourable light. The third illustrates the espionage exercised by the Caliph on his vizier, and the mode whereby it was frustrated. The fourth is a case wherein a master claims the right to put a slave to death on a frivolous ground, and the fifth one wherein a father claims the same right with regard to his daughters. The sixth explains the modes whereby intelligence was obtained, and illustrates the commercial morality of the time. The seventh is an account given by the celebrated Saif al-daulah of the incident which led to his becoming an independent ruler. The eighth elucidates the relations between the first Buwaihid sovereign in Baghdad and the Caliph whose rights he had usurped.

A cordial vote of thanks was passed to the lecturer.

21st May, 1930

At a joint meeting of the Society and the Central Asian Society, held at the rooms of the Royal Society, Burlington House, Sir Percy Cox in the Chair, Mr. C. Leonard Woolley gave a lecture on "The Excavations at Ur, 1929–30", with lantern illustrations. A précis of the lecture will appear in the October *Journal*.

Will any member give or sell to the Society *Bengal Past and Present*, vol. 2, pts. 1 and 2, 1908, complete with the coloured plate to pt. 1, also title pages to both parts and the index which were issued in a supplement.

The Librarian would be grateful for the presentation of any of the following works of which the Library is in need.

Information as to the existence of copies for sale would also be welcomed :—

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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY'S JOURNAL

OCTOBER, 1930

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JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY 1930

PART IV.—OCTOBER

The Decipherment of the Moscho-Hittite Inscriptions.

BY A. H. SAYCE

THE number of Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions known to us has increased considerably of late years. Unfortunately a large proportion of the texts is either broken or illegible, not infrequently just where a complete text is most needed. Thanks, however, to our increased knowledge, it is now possible to correct former copies and supply in many cases missing characters or words. The result is that I can now improve to a large extent upon my old attempts at translation as well as correct mistakes and misreadings. Another result is to show that the fundamental elements in my decipherment are correct; it is true that I have made many mistakes, as is inevitable in pioneering work of the kind, but on the whole it was based on sound principles and a considerable proportion of the phonetic values or ideographic meanings I have attached to the characters turn out to be right. Those who wish to see the evidence for these will find it given in detail in my articles in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*. In my present notes I shall give it only where the identifications are either new or corrections of those I formerly proposed.

At the outset it is now clear that the hieroglyphic script must be classified under several different types. First (1) we have the script as it is found at Boghaz Keui; only a few

specimens of it are known and these offer neither grammatical suffixes nor examples of a phonetic use of the characters, except in the case of proper names. (2) Secondly we find the Hamathite or rather North Syrian group. Here the grammatical suffixes appear as well as phonetic characters; the characters themselves have become more conventionalized, and some of those which are found in the later inscriptions are not employed. Moreover, the "word-divider" is only just coming into use; indeed, in the earlier texts it does not appear at all except for phonetic purposes. (3) Thirdly comes the Carchemish or North Syrian group. Here the texts are usually well and correctly written—C i. A 1. *b*, being an exception to the general rule—the "word-divider" has come into use, the employment of ideographs is restricted and in many instances their phonetic reading is attached to them. (4) Fourthly we have the Mer'ash group, which includes Aleppo and the province called Tarkhundas[1] in the Boghaz Keui tablets. Here, again, the "word-divider" is prominent, but the forms of the characters vary from those of the Carchemish group. (5) Attached to (4) is (5), where, however, the script is of a much more archaic character and the "word-divider" is rarely employed. (6) Sixthly there is the Early Asianic group, represented at Emir Ghazi, Karabel, etc. Here, again, the "word-divider" is absent, and characters are still distinct which are confused together in the later texts. (7) Lastly we find the Tyanian group in which the script is tending to become alphabetic. The words in the later texts are carefully divided

[1] It is worth notice that the *Lycians called themselves Trkhmi-li*, Greek Termilæ, where *-li* is the ethnic suffix, as in Hittite, corresponding to the Moscho-Hittite *-ni*. Trkhmi-*li* would thus be the exact equivalent of the Moschian Tarqami-a-nis of the Hamath texts and Tarqami-kamissis "(people) of the Tarqamos-city," of the Mer'ash texts. We know that the Lycians (or Luqqa as they are called in the Hittite texts) came from south-eastern Asia Minor; were they originally the inhabitants of the district of Tarkhundas of which Kuruntas was king? *Kamis*, Greek Kamisa, "fortified city," appears under the Hellenized form of -κώμη in local names in the Greek inscriptions of Asia Minor. The Tell Ahmar inscription shows that it was represented in the hieroglyphic texts by the bowl [glyph].

from one another and the ideographic use of the characters is the exception rather than the rule.

In all these forms of script by the side of the monumental writing we have a cursive script, distinguished by incised lines of little depth and frequently presenting reduced forms of the characters. It is difficult to read, the slightly incised lines being frequently illegible.

The Tyanian is the latest form of Moscho-Hittite writing, and belongs to a period when the Phrygian alphabet was in use, and Mita or Midas, the opponent of Sargon, had already created his empire. In fact, I believe that the use of the "word-divider" in the later texts was modelled on its use in the Phrygian inscriptions, though the Asianic alphabets themselves, like the Aramaic and Phœnician, had probably derived the idea of separating words from one another from the Cappadocian cuneiform texts, where a wedge was commonly employed for this purpose. In the Karaburna inscription which belongs to the Tyanian group the "word-divider" is still unknown.

The characters were employed to represent more than one language. At Boghaz Keui, the language would have been either Official Hittite or Proto-Hittite, and the fact that on the Tarkondemos seal the goat's head represents *Tarku* (Greek τράγος) instead of the Moscho-Hittite *is* while the Indo-European *dime(s)* takes the place of the Moscho-Hittite *kuana-mi* indicates that in Cilicia it was employed to express a language allied to Greek. In the case of the Moscho-Hittite language itself there were local and temporal differences. The vocalization differed, for example, at Carchemish and at Mer'ash, and the fact that the same character could denote *ya* and *i*, *yi* and *wa*, *wi*, while another (as in cuneiform) is at once *m*, *w*, and *b*, points to the existence of local varieties. But the determination of the vowels is still in an initial stage, and it is only in a few instances that we can indicate with certainty the precise vowel that accompanies a particular consonant. The Assyrians, however, in

their transcription of Hittite and Moschian names experienced the same difficulty. All that we can say at present is that [sign], [sign], [sign], [sign] roughly denote *a*, *i*, *u*, and *e*. *R*, again, was pronounced as in English, and consequently could be represented by a vowel, while final *s*, at all events in the later texts and more especially before a consonant (as was first pointed out by Professor Jensen), tended to be dropped.

The numeral | was *u*, or perhaps *ua* in its full form, and is accordingly used to represent the vowel *u*. But at an early date it was confused with the oblique line \ , which denoted that the character to which it was attached had a phonetic value that was not its ordinary one. On the Tarkondemos seal, for example, it represents the Assyrian *e*, the suffixed *-me-e* "am I" being represented by [sign] that is *mi* pronounced *mê*. In C i. A 6. 6, the bull's head, *mi*, is given as the phonetic equivalent of ||||. On the other hand, the vocalic *r* after a vowel could be represented by the oblique line as in the name of Carchemish, where the first syllable is sometimes written *ka* + oblique line, though it is possible that the quiver (*ka*) was really in its full phonetic form *kar* and not *ka*, and all that is intended is to draw attention to the fact that here the character is used with its rarer phonetic value. In contrast with this, the numeral 3, *kas* (or, rather, *kes* according to C i. A 6. 6, where its pronunciation is given as *kê-is*) with the oblique line attached is *ku* (Greek *κο*) and more rarely *kê*.

Excluding the authors of the inscriptions of Western Asia Minor as well as those of Hamath and perhaps Mer'ash, the common title of those who inscribed them was "Moschian" or "Miskian" (Meshech). In the earliest of the Carchemish inscriptions, that of Yakhas or Yakhans (C i. A 1. 1), it is written *Mi-is*-KAN-*ka-a-ni*(-*n*)-DET,[1] and again (in l. 6)

[1] The photograph as well as my own copy of the text have *mi* and not *ki* as in the published text. If *ki* were correct we should have the name of the Kaskians.

Mi-is-KAN-*ka-a-ni* (?)-DET. MISNAS "the Moschian Sun-god". In a text of Kanâs (C i. A 11. *b* 3) we have MIS-*Mi-i-s*(*i*)-*ka-a-ya-n*-DET. "land of the Moschians", while one of Imêis (C ii. A 15. *d* 4) gives us *Mis-i-kan-n*(*a*)-MI-*mi*-DET. A monument now at Kaisariyeh [1] has on side *d* (l. 5) *Tua-na-mis*-DET. D.[2] *Me-is-kan-is a-mi-is* "swordsman of Tyana (and) Meshech", and again (in l. 6) *Mi-is-qa*-KAN-*ni-is*. In the Bulgarmaden inscription (M. xxxii, 3, 4) we read *a*-[*tu*]-*is is-s-uana-s-mi*(*a*) *á-mi-s-miya-na-is Mis*-KE-*ka-s-n-is* "(I) the king of the realm, master of the territory, the Moschian, (have poured out wine, *wi-ni-n*, have set up (?) an inscribed stone)", corresponding to the Tyana text on the leaden rolls found at Kalah Shergat (ASS. f. *Rev.* 2) *u-mis is-uana-mi a-tu-is Mis*-KÊ-*kas-n-s ku-yê* "(I) sole king of the realm, the Moschian, have built (the fortress, etc.)." At the end of the Karaburna inscription (M. xlvi, 3) a re-examination of the squeeze shows that the reading is: NAWIS *Tua-uana-n-is* DET. MISNA-*si*-[*s*] *Wan*(*a*)-*na-tu-ni-is*-MI *atu-s* S (?)-*mi a-tu-wis Mi-is-kan-a-mi*(*a*) *kuan-ná* "Tyanian king, son of the Sun-god, king of the Venetians I, king of the Moschians, have erected the sanctuary". It, is probable that Mazaka the name of Kaisariyeh in classical times signified "the Moschian city".[3]

From the name "Moschian" we have to distinguish the title *amiskas* and *amiskus*, which interchanges with the ideographic "Chief dirkman" or "swordsman" (see, for example, C i. A 7. *b* 2; C ii. A 15. *d* 3, 4: *á-mi-s-ká-a-s*, *a-mis-ku-s*.[4] The discovery that, cursive, represents *ká* is due to Dr. Cowley, and has cleared up many

[1] Lewy in *Archiv für Orientforschung*, iii, 1, p. 8.

[2] "Word-divider."

[3] The name of the Moschians penetrated as far as Lydia and in the Græco-Lydian inscriptions, accordingly, we find the proper names Moskhianos, Moskhiôn, Moskhios, and Moskhos.

[4] So on the Nigdeh column (M. liii) *yi-is-a* AGU-*n es Ka-a-n*(*a*)-*s i-is-i-ta a-mi-s-ku-ś* "This stone Kanas has erected in the temple (*literally* high place) (being) chief swordsman", i.e. high priest.

difficulties.) Since *amis* means "swordsman" (more strictly "dirk-man"), the suffix *-skas* or *-skus* will have a superlative sense; cf. the Hittite *mili-skus* "an eunuch". *A-mis* is literally "man of the dirk". Whether its initial vowel, however, is really a word signifying "man" is questionable. At all events, the simple vowel *a* frequently takes the place of the determinative of "man". The latter in the earlier texts is usually depicted with a "word" issuing from the mouth, and there seems to have been a verb *ayê* which meant "to speak" (see M. 1, 5. AGU-*n es-mi a-n x*-MIA-*mi á-i-wi* "The stone I have erected, this gate-way I have dedicated"; on the leaden plates of Assur the verb is the Hittite *memi* and appears in the variant forms *á-mí-mi(a)-ye-mi* (*e* 1), *á-mi(a)-mi-i-mi* (*f* 1), *á-mí-mi(a)-ye-mi* (*c* 1), *á-mi(a)-ye-mi-i*, that is *mimiye-mi*, the initial ideograph being merely a determinative).

Polyphony was naturally a characteristic of the script, which was employed to represent more than one language and the characters of which were pictographic. Efforts were made to counteract the ambiguity which arose from this by coupling characters which happened to have the same phonetic values, and sometimes by adding ideographs which denoted the word intended to be expressed. But in some instances the polyphony was due to the confusion of two characters originally distinct. Thus the two pictures of the boot and leg, were originally separate as in the Emir Ghazi texts; the first (MI) represented "the earth" or "land", and accordingly had the phonetic values of *aya*, *mi*, *wi*, and probably others as well, while the second was *wi*, *pi*, *bi*. In all the later texts MI has the values of both signs. The cursive forms of the characters representing the arm and hand have caused extraordinary confusion. The upright arm, for example, was *atta*, (*ta*), "father," "lord," but it came to be confused with another character which had a wholly different origin. This depicted the double-edged axe *ka*, *ga*, which assumed various forms in the cursive script,

and finally became indistinguishable from *atta*. We find it, for example, in the name of "the River-land" of *Ti-mi(a)-u-s-ka-si-ya-mi-a*, i.e. Timuskas, which I believe must represent Damascus (C ii. A 12. *c* 3). At Palanga (M. xx, 2) in the name of Ga-me-i-ir (Gimirri) it has become [character], and it is possible that the same character is meant in ASS. e *Rev.* i, 27. It can be written not only horizontally, but also vertically and semi-vertically, like the hand holding a dirk [character] (NA + MI "king" (*namis* or *nawis*), generally alternating with *ana* and *atu*, but also used in the Carchemish texts with the phonetic value of *mi*). The dirk had the phonetic value of *mis* and consequently came to be superseded by the knife, the determinative of "cutting", which accordingly assumed the value of *mí*, *mis* being reserved for the picture of the dirk.[1] The original value of the knife was *ti*, possibly also *miti*; hence it interchanges with *ti* in M. lii, 1 and 4. There were two forms of the knife, one with a straight and the other with a curved handle; in the later texts the latter was confused with the scimetar, which also had a curved handle, but the phonetic value of it is unknown to me. The determination of the value of the double axe, which interchanges with [character], is due to Dr. Cowley's discovery of the value of the latter.

The dirk is frequently used to express the first syllable of Misnas "the Sun-god" (Greek Masnês, Manês, written Masanês on a Lydian coin). But the name is written in various fashions, sometimes with and sometimes without the picture of the Sun. Thus we have *Mis-ni-s me-i-is* "my Sun-god", as in the Hittite texts (C i. A 6. 1), *Mis-n-is Kas-i-is* "Kasian Sun-god" (C i. A 2. 1), MISN-*n-i-ś* (C i. A 1. 1), *Mis-n(a)-kuana-si-in Mis-n(a)-si-i-in* AME "city of the sons of the solar priests (and) sons of the Sun-god" (C ii. A 15.*d* 4), *MIS(NA)-ś-ni*-MI-*i* "in the land of the Sun-god" (M. ii, 6). At Emir Ghazi (M. l, 4) under the wings of the solar disk is on either side the ideograph of "king"

[1] See, for example, M. xxxiii, 1, *á*-MIS-*mí-i-s* (AME-*mia*) compared with M. vi, 2, *á*-MIS-*me-nin*.

surmounted by σ⁀ɒ *isi* "high", "heaven". *Isi* also appears under the centre of the disk and above the solar column in the middle of which is a picture of the sun, the column itself standing upon MI "the earth". Between the ideographs of "king" and the column we have MIS-*ni*, the first syllable being represented by the dirk standing upon a quiver or cut stone (*ni*). The whole reads "of (*or* to) the Sun of heaven and earth, even the Sun(god) the supreme king". The same "edicule" is found at Yasili Kaya near Boghaz Keui, where it is sculptured behind the head of the god Attys. Another similar "edicule" at Yasili Kaya is put in the hand of the priest-king, but here the place of the central column with solar orb is taken by the figure of the priest-king himself who grasps the handle of the dirk in one hand while the place of *isi* "heaven" above his head is taken by the ringlets of hair of the Sun-goddess. (For the picture of the latter, which is used in writing the latter part of the name of Milid or Malatia, and which therefore seems to be the borrowed Assyrian *ilitti* "goddess", see M. xxxii, 1. The character also appears in an unpublished fragment from Carchemish which reads: . . . *mis-s*[*a*-]*ná* [*Mi* ?-] ILITTI-*s* . . . , perhaps "king of Milid".)

Polyphony was assisted not only by the confusion of different characters with one another, but also by the use of parts of a picture in order to express the whole. The head of an animal, for example, takes the place of the animal itself. The first syllable in the name of Tyana is sometimes denoted by a chariot, or rather two-wheeled car (e.g. C ii. A 12. *b* 2), sometimes by the body of the car, sometimes by a wheel, sometimes by the driving board (e.g. M. xxxii, 1). The head of the heifer (*ná*) is generally carefully distinguished from that of the ox (*ami*, *mi*), but in carelessly written inscriptions we find it occasionally confused with the latter.

Ná occurs from time to time in a common title of the Moscho-Hittite kings. This is [glyph] "great", "lord", which in

C ii. A 15 b * * 3 is accompanied by its phonetic equivalent, *á-ku-ni-ya*, the exact reading, by the way, which I had assigned to the ideograph in the *Proc. SBA.* long before the discovery of the inscription in question. Sometimes the title is written *AKUNI-n-ná-a-yi-s* (M. xxxiii, 2), where I formerly supposed the *ná* to mark merely what I have called the agglomerative usage of the Moschian scribes who endeavoured to avoid the ambiguities of polyphony by doubling or even trebling characters which happened to have the same pronunciation. But in view of the fact that the Moschian word corresponds so closely to the Phrygian *akenano-lavos*, which has the same signification, I am inclined to think that *ná* here has the value of *l*, the compound possibly meaning "lord of the people" (Greek λαός). In M. xxi, 3, however, we have AKUN-*uan(a)-a-(a)n(a)n-a-ś*, i.e. *akunananaś*.

Separate from *akuna-* is *agu(s)* "a stone", more especially "a sacred stone". It is always employed in the inscriptions in the sense of a *bætylos*. The name Agusis (C i. A 11. *b* 1, etc., C ii. A 14. 1; cf. *Annals of Archæology*, ii, 4, p. 173) would signify "son of the bætyl". The Assyro-Babylonian epic of Agusâya, the North Syrian Istar, discovered and translated by Professor Scheil, would have been that of "the child of the sacred stone".[1] Her consort was Agusimis (Agusi-wis), whose image seated on a throne, borne by two lions and an eagle-headed man, was discovered by Hogarth at Carchemish (C ii. B 25). The inscription on the skirt of the deity reads: "This god's place (*uana-mia*) of the divine *A-gu*-AGUSI-*mi* I (*y-a-mis-s*) have made for the people of Nina (Ninus vetus) . . . May Agusimis bless the land" (MI-*a-na*) (C i. A 4. *d*). In C i. A 11. *b* 3 and elsewhere mention is made of "the sacred ox-horned column" or *mazzêbah* "of (*Agu*-GUS-*is-si-mi*) Agusimis", which was made of "hewn stone" (KAT-*ka-ti*-TI-*yas-mi*(*a*)), and the name of the god occurs again in M. xi, 4 (*Agu-si*-MI). In the Tell Ahmar inscription (*Annals of*

[1] The name of "the goddess Agusea" is also found in an inscription of Esarhaddon (K 2801).

Archæology, ii, 4, pl. xxxviii, 2) Agusimis is called "the Tyanian (god) (*Tu-uan-a-ni-i-s-mia*-DET.), and is associated with Tarkus, "king of the gods" (UAN-*i-is-s* NAWIS-*wi-i-ś*) and the deities KUANNA-*Khal*-KUAN-*kan*-KUANIS, as well as with *Kam-mi-ti-s*, who is depicted at Yasili Kaya (No. 16), while "the Moschian god" (*Mis-[kas-wi-]s*) who is also depicted at Yasili Kaya (No. 14), follows next. The name of Agusimis is represented by a serpent (ἔχις, Lat. anguis), followed by the bætyl (*agus*) and *mi-s*. At Kizil Dagh the full name is expressed by the figure of a serpent with ⊓ *ma* or *mi* attached to it (Ramsay and Bell, *Thousand and One Churches*, p. 515, l. 1). Since the deity here forms part of a triad, the two other members of which are Attys and Tarkus (Sandes-Hadad), Agusimis must have been regarded as a goddess corresponding to Mama at Emir Ghazi. Elsewhere, however, as at Fraktin, the name is applied to a god whose name is written *Agu-u-mi* for Agu(s)mi. The bætyl, it must be remembered, denoted both the male and the female deity. In C ii. 2 the initial vowel is written after, instead of before *gu* in accordance with a practice, first noted by Professor Jensen, of sometimes affixing a prefixed vowel, more especially if it is *a*, to the character which represents the syllable of which it is actually the prefix. In C i. A 11. *a* 5, we have DET. À-*ku*-AGUSI-*mi-in* as on the statue, but a few lines further (*b* 3) the name is written *Agu*-GUS-*is-mi*(-*si*). A common phrase in the inscriptions is *a-kuan-yi a-gu-kuan-yi* (C ii. A 14. 6, C i. A 6. 9, etc.) "I am priest, I am priest of the bætyl". Cf. the name of the North Syrian city Bit-Akukania (Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria*, ii, 24). It was in the neighbourhood of the Tabalâ.

The king was also usually the high-priest, the city being a Hierapolis or Holy City, and consequently could have the determinative of "god" as well as of "city" or "district" attached to it. Thus we have (U)ANA *Karkamis* "the divine Carchemish", as well as MIA or NA "the city" or "district of Carchemish". "The Holy City" was denoted by the

compound [hieroglyph] a compound of *kuanis* "priest" (represented by the priestly robe) and *miya* "city" (C ii. A 15. *d* 2, A 14. *a* 3: KUANIMIYA-*kuan*(*a*)-*mi*(*a*), M. v, 2, vi, 5, 6, where the reading seems to be *miya-kua-ni-s*, cf. *mi*(*a*) *kuanis ka-a-wi*, M. 1, 5, and ASS. g. *Rev.* 2, *ka*-KAMI-*a*-KUANIMIYA-*kuan*-MIA. At Fraktin, M. xxx, we find *Ku-ana-uana*-DET. "Holy Country").

In the Tyanian group of texts *kamis* takes the place of MIYA "city". Thus we have *ka*-KAMI-*a*-*kuan*-MIYA (a. *Rev.* 2), KAMI-*ka-me-a*-MIYA-*kuan* (b. 2), *U-ta-kâ*-MI-*s* "city of Hydê" (g. 1). *Kamis* is related to *kamissa*(*s*) "fortress" (M. xxxi, C 2, *ka*-KAMI-*mi-is-s-a*, whence the name of the classical Kamisa), and denoted a "fortress-town". It corresponds to the Greek *κώμη* in Asianic names like Hermokome, Esouakome, Laptokome, Rekokome (Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, pp. 412–13).

In the Mer'ash texts the priest-king of Tarkhundassa is described as *Tarku-ka*(*mi*)-*mi-ka-mi-i-s*, Tarkami-kamis "of the city of Tarkamos", who must have been the ancestor of the royal line. In one of the Hamath inscriptions (M. iii, B 3) the country is termed "the land of Tarkamos" (*Tarku-ka*(*mi*)-*mi-a-na-yis*) for which the name of Name-kamis "Namian" is substituted in another text (M. iv, A). According to Tiglath-pileser I Name was the name of a river near Serissa on the western side of the northern Tigris.

The Moscho-Hittite empire succeeded the older Hittite empire and is that referred to by Solinus (xlix): "Cilicia antea ad Pelusium Ægypti pertinebat, Lydiis, Medis, Armeniis, Pamphylia, Cappadocia sub imperio Cilicum constitutis." The Moschians seem to have been one of the chief of those "peoples of the north" who, about 1200 B.C. destroyed the older Hittite empire and occupied eastern Asia Minor and Northern Syria; in fact, if we may trust Solinus they made their way to the south of Palestine. At any rate, they attacked the Egyptian territory, where Rameses III succeeded in defeating them and so saving

Egypt from the northern barbarians. Tiglath-pileser found the Moschi in occupation of what had once been Assyrian territory in the upper regions of the Euphrates, and, as will have been seen above, their name appears in most of the Hittite hieroglyphic texts. Their chief centre and capital appears to have been Tyana. At one time their power extended to Malatia, and so comprised the old kingdom of Khani-galbat. Kanas of Carchemish, for example, calls himself "lord of Melid" (C i. A 11). Another priest-king of Carchemish was "a Tyanian of the land of the Cilicians, chief swordsman of Tyana" and "lord of Melid" (*Khal-kan-e-ś-mia Tuana-a-ni-i-s* AMIS-*a-mi-yi-s-ka-a* *Tua-uan-ni*-NIS-*s-mia* . . . *akunas* *Me-lid*(*i*)-*si*; C i. A 4. *a* 2). Similarly in M. xi, 3, "the Carchemishian high-priest" is entitled "the Kesian king of Tyana" (*Tuana* [1]-*a-yis-mia Kês-yis*). On the rocks of Gürun Nâiyas Khattu-kuanis ("Priest of Khattu") is "lord of Melid, swordsman of Carchemish", "Moschian king in the land of the Veneti" (*Mis-kas a-na-miya Wana-ti-i*-MI-DET., Olmstead, *Travels in the Nearer East*, p. 33). The Gurun texts must be a record of conquest. The Tyana group of texts belongs to a much later period; the earliest of them (M. xlvi) on the rocks at Karaburna seems to imply a conquest of the district by the "king of Tyana" (ll. 2, 3), as it begins with the words: "This place I have occupied (*ya-a me n*(*a*)-NA-*wi*) being king of the city of the fortress-town of Kamisa" (*kam-mi-yis kam*(*ia*)-MIA-*mis-a* MIYA-*a*), Sinas, king of Sinasmia" (cf. Sinis near Kaisariyeh, Ramsay, p. 272).

The Veneti, or Ἐνετοι of Greek writers, who left their name in that of the city of Οὐήνατα or Venasa, play a prominent part in the Carchemish and Tyana inscriptions. Thus in the inscription from Carchemish, now in the Ashmolean Museum,

[1] Here the name of Tyana is expressed by an ideograph denoting "the Double City", as is sometimes the case in the Tyanian texts (e.g. M. xxxi, C 2). *Tua* signified "2" (M. lii, 2), the suffix -*na* being "district" as in *mia-na* "city-district", so that the whole name could be written in rebus-fashion "double-district".

we have *Wa-uana*-WANA-*atta-a-is* (*Wanattais*), which is written *Wa-n*(*a*)-WANA-*tu-e-mis-yi*, *Wanatue-misyê*, in a Tyanian text (M. xxxiii, 3). At Carchemish we find expressions like *a-mê Wane-ti-is* "A Venetan by race" (M. xi, 4; cf. C i. A 11. *a* 6); *Tuana-a-n*(*a*) MI-*i*-DET. WANA-*ti-is*-MI-*i* MIYA-MIS-*kû-a-uana*-MI-*i* *Mis-i-kan-n*(*a*)-MI-*mi*(*a*)-*i* WANA-*ti-is*-MI-*mi*(*a*)-*a* "A Venetan of Tyana, a Venetan of Hierapolis (Konia ?), a Venetan of the Moschians" (C ii. A 15. *d* 4). So, too, at Ivriz (M. xxxiv, A 3) Thias, son of Uwinias,[1] is called *Wana-tu*(*a*)-*ta atta* "lord in the country of the Veneti" and at Izgin (M. xix, 1, 5) "lord of the country of the Veneti" (*imia Wana-ta-a*-DET. *at-ta*). One of the leaden rolls of Assur has "king of the Midas-city, of the city of the Veneti of the Venetan land here . . . of the Veneti" (*ana* (or *atu*) *Mi-tua*-ME MIYA-*a* WANA-*uana-ati-yas* WANA-*ne-*(*a*)*ti-ye-is-yas-mia* . . . WANA-*ati-mis-a*). It follows that in the eighth century B.C. the district of Tyana, the city of Mita or Midas, the opponent of Sargon, was that of the Veneti. At an earlier date their territory would probably have extended to Mazaka.

It will have been noticed that in the Carchemish text (M. xi) the same of Tyana is coupled with that of the Kesians or Kasians, the Kasai or Kases of the Byzantine writers, also termed Kasin. According to C i. A 6. 6. 7, the Moscho-Hittite word for "three", *kas*, was pronounced *kuis* or *kes*. Hence in M. xxxii, 2, we find it written *Kê-yis-mia mi-a*-NA-*na* "the land of Kes". At Carchemish the more usual form was Kasinna(s) "country of Kes" (e.g. C i. A 6. 3, *Kes-in-na aku*(*ni*)-*ni* "for the Kasian lord", but we also find Kasis (*misna Kesis*, C i. A 11. *b* 1). In the early Asia Minor inscriptions the form is *Ku-is-i-*(*mia*), *Ku-is-i-*(*mi*) (M. l, 4, 3) "land of Keisi" or "Kuisi". I found the same name on the original stone of the longer Hamath inscription in the Constantinople Museum (l. 1); here the reading is: *akuni-n*(*a*)-[*ná*]-*a-yi-*

[1] Or Ewinias; the corresponding Greek is *Οὐίας*.

Ya-khan-nà-DET. NAWIS MIYA-*a Ami-tî-mi-*-s ku-e(?)-is-mia a-na* "master of Yakhan, king of the city of Hamath, king of the land of Kuis". The King of Hamath, to whom the monuments belong would, therefore, have come from Asia Minor. I see the same title under the form Kusana "Kasian" in the Biblical Chushan Rish'athaim, king of the River-land (Judges iii, 8). The Hamathite king is called *Ar-ati-mi-in-(s)* and since the first character may possibly be used ideographically for the full word *aris* instead of phonetically for the syllable *ar*, he may be the Biblical (Semitized) Rish'athaim.[1] He was "king of the Murrians" or Amorites "in the city of Nanas", the water-goddess, where he was also priest of "the high-place of the bætyl by the river in this land of the river of the Murrians" (M. vi, 3, 4).

Nana, also written Nina, is represented ideographically by the picture of a well or spring (M. vi, 2, 5. NANA-*nê ku-uan*-UAN-KUAN-*ni-mis-ya-mia-a* "The Hierapolis of Nana"; cf. M. xxi, 4, where it has the determinative of a water-basin). In 1914 I pointed out that in C i. A 11. *b* 6, the name of the goddess is represented by the head of a horse, the water-horse of the Highlands and the Greek hippocampus. Here we read: NANA (or NINA)-*nê-ti-s* DET. *Kar-ka-mi(a)-is* | *Nâ-ana-s* NANÀ (horse-head)-*s-mia* DET. *Khal*-KHALMI-*mi* | *mi-ana-s* | NANÀ-*ana-a-s-mia* DET. KU(AN)-KHAL-NANÀ-*a-s* "the Ninatian god of Carchemish: i.e. Nanas (or Ninas) of Ninas, in the land of the Khalmisians: in the land of Nanas Nanas is (termed) KUAN-KHAL".[2] We learn from Ammianus Marcellinus and the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, that in the classical age Carchemish (Jerablûs) was called Ninus, or, as Ammianus terms it by way of

[1] In M. xxx 'Ati is the name of the goddess who is further symbolized by a bird (like Khalmis), and corresponds to the עתי of the North Syrian Aramaic inscriptions. According to Steph. Byzant. *s.v.* *Λαοδίκεια*, *ἄθα* signified "god" in North Syria. On the other hand, the knife has the value of *ti* as well as *mi*, so that the royal name could be read Ar'attin.

[2] In C i. A 11. *a* 4, the horse's head, with the wing of Pegasos (the symbol of divinity), is explained by NINA.

distinction from Nineveh, "the old Ninus" (Ninus vetus).[1] Ninas, Nanas, the "Water-city", will have been its sacred name. Hence the inhabitants of Carchemish are frequently entitled "the Ninatians"; e.g. C i. A 4. *d*: *Kayi* NANA-*nê-in uana-n* "I have made the Ninatian god" (Agusimis); C i. A 11. 6, "king of the Ninatians" (NANÀ-*nê-ti-in*). In C i. A 7. *j* 1, Nêisis is stated to be "priest of Nina". In the Hamath inscriptions (M. vi, 2, 5) the city "of Nana" must be Hamath, and Nanessos was a city of Tyanitis. So, too, in ASS. d 2, Tyanitis is described as "the land of the city of Nina" or the holy Spring, while in g. 1 we have *Tu-uan-ê-s* NINA-MISNA-*tua-n*(*a*)-*ka-mê-s* KAMI-ME *Wana-ti-si-mis* "Tyana the twofold city of Nina and the Sun-god, of the Veneti" (whence the alternative explanation of Tyana as "the Chariot-city" and as Tua-na "the twofold town", or possibly "town of the Twins", that is the Water-goddess and the Sun-god). On a Hittite seal (M. xliii, 8) round the figure of Pegasos, the winged horse—the symbol, it must be remembered, of Nana—runs the name of the owner *Nà-ana-si-is*, Nana(s)sis, and on the other side of the seal we have the winged "king of the gods" figured like Assur, with the two divine names attached to him "the goddess Khalmis" (identified in the Carchemish text with Nanas), and the god Aramis, called "king of the gods" in the Carchemishian name Aramis-sar-ilâni published by Professor Pinches, and "lord of earth, supreme over the 9 gods" at Carchemish (M. x, 2), where he is coupled with Khalmis and the king states that he has planted his sacred vine-tree (*isis uan*). Arnobius tells us (*Contra Gentes*, v, 6) that Nana was the daughter of the Phrygian river Sangarius (the name of which is repeated in that of the Sagura, the modern Sajur near Carchemish) and she became the mother of Attys through gathering the pomegranate of Agdistis.

Nis signified "water" in Moscho-Hittite and in the plural

[1] So, too, Philostratus in his *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* (xix): ἡ ἀρχαία Νῖνος.

can be used in the sense of "river" (C i. A 11. c 3, *nê-is Khul-a-na-i-yis-mia* "the river of the land of Khulana", probably the Khulaya or Pyramus of the Boghaz Keui texts). But we also find *nî-mis* (*niwis*) and *nî-nas*.[1] The special word for "river", however, was *ti-e-ti-s*, as results from a comparison of C ii. A 15. 2, with line 4; see also C ii. A 12, 3.[2] The Greek *Τηθύς*, which has no Indo-European etymology, may perhaps be related: Têthys was a goddess like Nana. The word explains the phonetic complement of in the Hamath texts, where "the River-land" is written DET. TETI-*ti-nas* (M. iv, A, B). Cf. M. xxi, 4, TETI-*ti*(?)-*kan*. A common title of the earlier Moschian princes is that of king of "the 9 Rivers", e.g. M. x, 4, 5, "lord of the 9 Rivers, who loves the 9 sanctuaries" (KA-MES). The title comes down from the period of the first Hittite empire; in KUB. xv, p. 30, 58, 59, we are told that 9 birds and 9 loaves of unleavened bread were offered "to the 9 Rivers", and in a previous passage of the same tablet (28, 8) mention is made of 3 birds being offered "to the 9 (sacred) springs". In M. xlviii, 1, 2, we read of "the 9 (sacred) horses" (*yêamîs* or *yêawîs*), corresponding to "the 9 lands of the Sun-god" at *Egri-Köi* (I do not know the reading of the name of the latter city).

The two characters *ni* "water" and *têtis* "river" came to be confounded together; hence the use of the second with the phonetic value of *nis* and *ni* as well as the signification of "water". The same misuse of "water" for "river" is to be found in English geography. The

[1] *Nas* and *mes* are constantly confounded together in the later texts. They are both derived from the same pictograph and the second ought to be a separate character , the clenched hand throwing a speck off the thumb.

[2] See C ii. A 12. 3, where "the river(s) of the River-town of Nina" are mentioned. The same name appears to be inscribed on one of Schlumberger's seals (M. xl, 17); on another seal (xlv, 3) the place of Nina is taken by that of the Sun-god. How the name was pronounced I do not know. Could it have been the city of Nî which plays so large a part in the Egyptian records?

ideograph of "water-basin" ◇, ◇, can take the place of TETI, more especially where a "well" or "spring" is meant. Hence its employment phonetically for *nis* (C i. A 4. *a* 2). But a spring was more correctly represented by NINA. "Water-basin" was *asmiyas* in Moschian (M. i, 3; xxxiv, C 1).

The water-bowl could be used in place of the water-basin. But in this case the inscription on the bowl (M. i) seems to indicate that its phonetic value was *kami*. At any rate, where determinatives are attached to it, they are always those of "land" and "place" (MI, MIA). And it is found before the name of a god when elsewhere we should have a word like *kami* "fortress".

But the reading and consequent identification of many of the countries mentioned in the Moschian texts still await discovery. One of the countries, for example, frequently named in the Carchemish and Mer'ash texts is denoted by what appears to be a conventional representation of the sacred tree. In one passage only is a clue given to its phonetic equivalent. In C ii. A 15, *b* 1, a text otherwise distinguished by the numerous instances in which ideographs are accompanied by their phonetic equivalents, we find the phonetic complement *ta* or *ti* attached to it, and in the middle of it what is apparently intended for *qa*; *ka*. If so, we may conclude that the name was Kata-wimi(a). This would certainly be the Kataonia of classical geography, the Qode of the Egyptian monuments.[1]

Imêis or Yamêis[2] (C i. A 6) writes: "I am Priest of Khalmis, my Sun-god (*Misnis-mîs*) . . . chief of the people of Wan(?)-i-mi (*Wan ?-i-mi-kan*-MI-*i*) and the people of . . . kamis" (*-*ami*-KAMÎ-*mis-kan*-MI-*i*). The same two names recur in the Tell Ahmar inscription (*Annals*, ii, 4, 3, 4) and we learn from the Bogcha inscription (M. li, 1) that

[1] According to Strabo (xii, 1) its chief city was Komana, so that it would correspond to the Kizzuwadna of the Boghaz Keui inscriptions.

[2] Cf. the Cilician names Ἴμας and Ἴμην.

both countries bordered on the Halys, north of Tyana and a little to the west of Kaisariyeh and Mount Argæus; there was a time, consequently, when this part of the world was under the same ruler as Carchemish. In C ii. A 15. *b*, Imêis is "Priest in the land of the Tarkians, in Carchemish of the Khalmissians", the Khalbaba of the Aramaic inscription of Panammu, of Yâdi (l. 3), and Yadi is named in the inscription of the Mer'ash king (M. lii), who describes himself as "belonging to the city of Tarkamos, priest of the Mer'ash region, son of Mamistis, high-priest of Yâtê" (*I-a-ati-ê*-DET.). In the second line of the text the name is written *I-a-ti-(si-in*-DET.), and at the end of l. 3 *ya-ti*. . . . Yati is the Yaeti of the Assyrian texts.

The name of Kataonia may perhaps be the equivalent of the Greek τραχεῖα (in Κιλικία τραχεῖα); at all events, *kata*, *kati*, signified "to cut stone"; C i. A 11. *b* 2, 3, *kuana-mis* GÙ-TA-*ka-ti-nà-yis* "temples of hewn stone", GÙ-TA-*mis*-MÌ-*mia* "cut stone building", GÙ-DET.-*a*-MÌ-*ti-ti-yi* "I cut stone", KA-*ka-ti*-MÌ-*yis-mia* "the hewn stone buildings (of Agusimis)"; M. xxxi, C 2, GÙ-DET.-*a*-TI-*i*(?)-*ti-wi* "I have cut stone".

In one instance we can trace the line of Moscho-Hittite conquest. The earliest of the Carchemish texts is that of Ya-khan-s "the Hittite (*Khat*(*tu*)-*tu-mis*), supreme over the land, the Sun-god who is the divinity on earth (lit. here, *yamèyis*) of the Tarkian Moschians in the kingdom of Carchemish" (*Kar-ka*-KA(N)-*mi-is nà-mi-a*-DET.).[1] Yakhans

[1] MÈ, MIYA, may be used ideographically so that instead of *yamèyis* we should read *ya* MIYA-*yis* "belonging to this city". The divinity claimed by the king is reflected in the first word of the inscription where *amei* "I am" is expressed by the winged man with the eagle's head, the symbol of the Sun-god. Similarly in C ii. A 15. *b* 1, the name of Imêis is written with the same symbol, and in C i. A 6. 8, we have *an a*-AMÈ *Wanati kuis* "This for the Venetan swordsman he has made", where AMÈ is the eagle-headed man. Elsewhere in the same phrase instead of the latter we have the usual *ami*(*s*); e.g. C i. A 11. *a* 6, *an ami-i ati*-MIYA *Wanati kuis*; M. xi, 4, *ami-i kuwi an amê Wanatis kuis*, "For the swordsman

gave his name to the kingdom of Ya-khan-na "land of Yakhan", north of Hamath, over which the Hamathite king Ar'atimin claimed rule (M. iii–vi). We first hear of the name in the Assyrian inscriptions of the ninth century B.C., when the capital of the country was Bit-Agusi. In earlier times it seems to have formed part of the territory of Aleppo. Yakhans, therefore, must have lived before the age of Shalmaneser III, and have conquered the country to which he gave his name. Possibly the Agusis of C ii. A 14., C i. A 11. and the Kellekli text (*Annals* ii, 4, p. 173) was his son.

The Kirsh-oglu Inscription (M. vii):—This is the only Moscho-Hittite text yet discovered in the territory of the Khattinâ, who adjoined Yakhan on the north. It reads: (1) A(MEI)-*a-me-i* . . . . . *akun-n-a-yi-ś* MIYA-*a ya-mè-s* (?) *Un-qa-nas* DET. *Mis-n(a)-s Un-qa*-KAN-*i* . . (2) KAMIS MI-*is-mi-mia a-kan-ś* ASMIA-*mi(a)-mis ku*-KUA-*s-mia i-is-i-ti mis*-MÈ-*i isi*(?)-*i yi-mi-a-mi akun-ni-yi*; "I am . . . the mighty one of this city, the Sun-god of the land of Unqi, the foundations (?) of the fortress of Unqi (and) the priest's lustration-basin (in ?) the temple-court of the high-place I have built (and) erected; this place I have made great." The character after *ya-mè* is doubtful and may be [symbol] *isis*; in this case we should have to read *a*-MÈ-*ya*-DET. *isis*, and translate: "Mighty one of the city, supreme over the land of Unqi, the Sun-god." Unqi is well known from the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III. It is the modern Umq, the valley plain of Antioch, the Amiqu of Thothmes III, which Tomkins identifies with the classical Amyces Campus

I have made, making it, (being) a Venetan by origin." "Swordsman" is here represented by the racing legs which elsewhere interchange with *amis*. At Yasili Kaya the twelve racing "Corybants" follow the high-priest (M. xxvii, A.) and the weapon they carry is the Egyptian *khopesh*. In the Ashmolean Carchemish text, on the other hand, the symbol of the armed defenders of the fortress is a dagger and the name of the armed priest, *a-mis*, is literally "dirk-man". In Samothrace it may be noted the Corybantes were nine in number only.—In my copy of the original the character which follows *Khattu* is *tu*, not *mia*.

the modern Ameuk Keui near Antioch. In an un-
lished Carchemish inscription we find (l. 3)
i-KAN-*ka-is-uan*-MI-*i* " in the land of the Amikasians "
' Lowlands ". The name would have been borrowed from
Semites.

'or MI-*ismi-mia* see M. lii, 5, where the word is written
mi-MI-*yis*, and is followed by KAMIS *nas Mis-kê*-DET.-
; " foundations (?) of the fortress of the Moschian city ".
; determinative of *asmia* is here represented with water
ring into it. The *ku* (or *gu*) of *kuasmia* " place of the
st " is also represented by the numeral for 100, as in many
er passages, e.g. C i. A 11. *c* 2, *ku-ana*-KUANA-MI-*i*
lierapolis ".

'he Bowl Inscriptions :—M. i, 3, *yi-is-a* KU-*ka-mi-in* GU-*gu-is ya kamin* DET.-*Tarku*-MI-*i i-yis-i-ti a-tu-is a-i ku-yi Khattu a-na a-mi-mis a-na-mi-a-tu* DET.-*a-s-mi-i-yis lê-i-mes ka*-KE-*s-mia i-yis-i-mia* DET. *Khal*-KHALMI-*mi-s* DET. *Kar-ka-mi-is* ; " This work having cut in
ıe (even) this bowl, for the high-place of Tarkus I the king
'e made (even) Is-Khattu the king, the sword-bearer,
g of this land, providing water-basins for (?) the high-
ɔe of the god of Khalmissian Carchemish."

'*umes* has the determinative of a stone-cutter's " squarer ".[1]
Khattu is the Us-Khitti of the Assyrian texts. In the time
Tiglath-pileser III there was an Us-Khitti, king of Tuna,
ally identified with Tyana, but more probably written
Atu-na " Royal land ". The name signifies " Supreme is
ıttu ". Kesmia seems to mean " for ", but it may be " of
land of the Kases " ; cf. M. xxxii, 2. For *mia-tu* " this
l ", see M. xxi, 3. With *khalê-mes* " providing ", cf.

[1] In M. xlviii, 3, my copy of the original shows that we should read

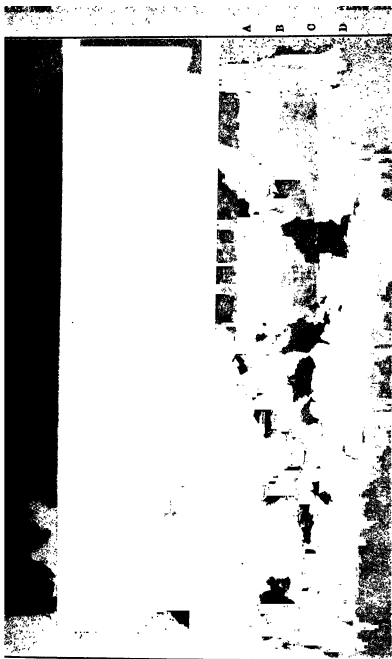
M. xxxiii, C. "I the king, furnishing a throne, have made a royal seat, being king of the Tyanians" (*Tu-uan-in att(a)-is-mis*), where *kantumes* must signify "furnishing" or something similar. It is many years since I pointed out that the name of the country governed by the Mer'ash kings must be read Khalê-Khalka (adjectival Khalkâ-mis), "Cilicia of the Halys," i.e. the northern Cilicia of classical geography.

ASS. *Tafel* 8:—*Yi-is-a* MIYA *KU-ka-mi-in Kar-mi-is-s Tarka-kami-mi-n(a)* DET. *Tar(ka)-qa-mì-in a* . . . "Here is the work which Karmis [made] belonging to Tarkamos of the land of Tarkus [the king ?]". Owing to the loss of the end of the inscription it is impossible to determine what the exact sense of it may have been.

The priestly epigraphs at Carchemish:—C i. A 7. *i*, *j*; B 7, 8.

(*i*): *Is-ka-wi-s-mi-s* | *yi-is-s-a yi-s-a* | *Tarka*-KAMI-*mi-u-s* "The attendant of Iskamis (is) this one; this (is) Tarkamius" The *ka* of *Iskawis-mis* is written *ni* by mistake as is shown by the epigraphs *g* and *h*, which read *I-isi-kê-wi-s-mi-s* and *Isi-ka-mê-s*.

(*j*): *yi-is-mi-a*-MIYA *Na-ê-is-i-ś* KUAN-*ni-i-s Ninê-yê yi-me-s is-s-mi* DET.-KUANIS *yi-me-i-ś* ISI(?)-*mi-s* "Here is Nêsis (or Nuisis) priest of Nina (or Nana); I am priest, I (am) the chief (priest)". *Is-mi* "I am" is found again in C i. A 6. 7: "Swordsman in the land of Tarkus, in the land of Kata, in the Khalmissian country, the place of my Sun-god, the city of the god, am I." Elsewhere we have *is-mi* and *i-is-mi*. Cf. the Hittite *es-mi*, Greek *ἐσ-μι*. The word goes to prove that the boot had the phonetic value of *mi*, as well as *wi* and *bi* (*pi*), and also, probably, *aya* or *ayi* "land". *Is-mi* must be distinguished from *es-mi* "I made", which is usually written *'s-mi*.[1]

[1] C i. denotes Hogarth, *Carchemish*, pt. i (1914); C ii. Woolley and Lawrence, *Carchemish*, pt. ii (1921); M. = Messerschmidt, *Corpus Inscriptionum Hettiticarum* (1900–06); ASS. = Andrae, *Hettitische Inschriften auf Bleistreifen aus Assur* (1924).

TEXTILES IN MR. ELSBERG'S COLLECTION.

Further Arabic Inscriptions on Textiles (III)

By A. R. Guest

(PLATE XII)

THE preceding article of this series is in the *Journal* for 1923, p. 406. Mr. H. A. Elsberg of New York has kindly supplied photographs and descriptions of the following Fatimid pieces in his collection and authorized their publication, and Mr. S. Flury has been so good as to give assistance in the decipherment of the inscriptions :—

No. 1. Collection No. 1356.

Description.—Fragment of a garment of rather fine linen, counting 56–7 warp threads to the inch, with a band of tapestry woven in dyed and undyed linen thread on the warp threads of the linen, the weft threads having been withdrawn. From the excavations at Fustât. $4\frac{1}{2} \times 13$ inches.

The tapestry band containing the inscription is $\frac{7}{16}$ of an inch wide, the height of the letters being the width of the band and the colour of the letters dark green or black linen thread, the ground being of undyed linen thread.

Inscription. . . . الله الرحمن الرحمن الملك من يمن الله وولّيه عليّ ابو الحسن لامته يمن الظاهر . .

Translation.— . . . God, the Merciful, the Merciful. Power comes by favour of God and his friend 'Alî. Abû el Ḥasan, on his people be favour, Ez Zâhir . . .

Date.—A.H. 411–427 = A.D. 1021–1036.

Remark.—Abû el Ḥasan 'Alî Ez Zâhir, Fatimid Khalif, reigned between the years mentioned. The inscription clearly refers to him. The formula is an unusual one. The repetition of er Raḥmân where er Raḥîm would be expected may be a mistake on the part of the weaver. The character of the script and the style of the inscription are peculiar.

No. 2. Collection No. 1383.

Description.—Fragment of a garment of fine linen, which appears to have been glazed, counting 64–5 warp threads to the inch, with bands of tapestry woven in coloured silks and undyed linen thread on the warp threads of the linen, the weft threads having been withdrawn. From the excavations at Fustât. $10\frac{1}{4} \times 19\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

The upper band of running dogs or jackal-like animals is $\frac{7}{16}$ of an inch wide. On a dark brown ground the animals are alternately in black or very dark blue silk outlined in tan; and tan outlined in black. The central band of animals between the inscriptions is the same as the upper. The letters of the inscription are black or very dark blue on a tan ground, about $\frac{7}{16}$ of an inch wide, the height of the letters on the ground is from $\frac{6}{16}$ to $\frac{7}{16}$ of an inch.

Inscription. [. . شر]يك له محمد رسول الله عليّ وليّ الله صلّى الله عليهما نصر من الله ووليّه على ابي الحسن الا [مام الظاهر لاعزاز دي]ن الله امير المؤمنين صلوات الله عليه وعلى ابائه الا ئمّ(line 2)ة الطاهرين [مما ام]ر بعمله الوزير الاجلّ صفيّ امير المؤمنين وخالصته ابو القاسم عليّ بن احمد *اجلّه (؟) به وايّده وعضده في طرا[ز] اله . .

Translation.— . . . [has no] partner. Muḥammad is the Prophet of God, 'Alî is the friend of God, God's blessing be upon them both. Victory from God and His friend be to Abû el Ḥasan the imâm ez Zâhir li i'zâz Dînallâh, commander of the faithful, blessing of God be on his pure ancestor(line 2)s. Ordered to be made by the most glorious vizier, the sincere and special friend of the commander of the faithful, Abû el Qâsim, 'Alî ibn Aḥmad, may He make him (the Khalif) glorious through him and strengthen him and support him, in the factory of El [Q (?) . . .].

Date.—A.H. 418–427 = A.D. 1027–1036.

Remark.—It will be noticed that the reading of line 1 is

continued in line 2 without interruption, so that only the right-hand portion of the inscribed band is wanting. To judge from formulæ on other examples, eight or nine words are missing from the beginning of the inscription and about the same number from the corresponding part at the end. The missing words at the beginning were probably—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الملك الحق . . لا شر.

(see *JRAS.*, 1906, pp. 396, 397, Nos. 10 and 11), and those missing at the end, besides supplying the name of the place of manufacture, would doubtless have stated that the work was carried out by a particular subordinate official and have given the date (see the copies of similar inscriptions given in Maqrîzî's *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, vol. iii, pp. 213, 214). It appears thus that between a third and a quarter of the inscribed band is wanting, and its original length when complete may be estimated as between 29 and 26 inches. The reading "make him glorious" (اجلّه) is very doubtful, but nothing better suggests itself. The title of the Khalif cannot be made out completely, but there is no doubt as to his identity, for his name is plain. That of his vizier, who is better known by his appellative El Jarjarâ'î, fixes the date within the limits given. This inscription, when compared with the Abbasid ones recorded in the part of Maqrîzî's *Khiṭaṭ* referred to, shows that in certain respects the Fatimids did not depart markedly from the formulæ used by their predecessors. The word *ṭirâz*, which has been translated "factory", has this meaning as a secondary one: a *ṭirâz* was a place in which *ṭirâz* was made, and *ṭirâz* in the primary sense was a particular description of woven material, usually one displaying the sovereign's mark or device in the form of an inscription, like the fabric under consideration. For the various meanings of the word and for the *ṭirâz* as a government institution and in general, reference may be made to a full and excellent article on *ṭirâz* by A. Grohman in a recent number of the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, and also to Professor

Wiet's edition of Maqrîzî's *Khiṭaṭ* (vol. iii, p. 214, n. 5; p. 328 and index), which seems to have escaped the attention of Professor Grohman and would have supplied some additions.

With the aid of these authorities, it can be shown positively that *ṭirâz* was produced at the following places in Egypt:—

1. In the Delta: Alexandria, Dabîk, Damietta, Nashâ (apparently thus and not Banshâ), Shaṭâ, Tinnîs, and Tûna.

2. In Upper Egypt: Ânṣina, Ushmûnain, Bahnasâ, and El Qais.

3. Probably at Fusṭâṭ also, under the designation of Miṣr, though this depends upon whether Miṣr is to be taken for the town or for Egypt.

Of the word following *ṭirâz* in the inscription, all that is left is the initial letter, preceded by the definite article and unpointed. This word was probably the name of the place where the stuff was woven. Its initial letter, as can be seen by comparison with examples in the body of the inscription, may be either ع or غ or ف or ق. El Qais is the only name in the list given above that begins with one of these letters. But *ṭirâz* stuff may well have been made at places besides those with which the sources referred to enable its manufacture to be associated, and one of these may have been a second El Qais which was situated to the east of the Delta near the coast and is known to have produced garments. Another may have been El Faramâ, though it dose not seem to have been a very important centre of weaving. The name of this town, also, would fit in with the inscription.

If the word following *ṭirâz* in the inscription was not a place-name, it seems pretty sure that it must have been العامة, as having the required initial and actually occurring on an inscription similar but a good deal earlier.

Shortly, there is ground for supposing that the stuff was made at El Qais in Upper Egypt, but the fact cannot be proved.

No. 3. COLLECTION No. 1382.

Description.—Fragment of a garment of fine linen gauze, with bands of tapestry woven in coloured silks on the warp threads of the linen gauze, the weft threads having been withdrawn. From the excavations at Fustât. $11\frac{1}{2} \times 16$ inches.

The upper band is $\frac{15}{16}$ of an inch wide, the centre containing birds and palmettes with geometrical scrolls, all in tan on dark purple and green ground. The inscriptions are in black, the height of the letters being from $\frac{3}{16}$ to $\frac{4}{16}$ of an inch.

The lower band repeats the design of the upper somewhat enlarged, as its width is $1\frac{15}{16}$ inches. The purple ground besides the letters contains some scrolls.

Inscription.—Line A. الله صلو[ات] . . . [نصر من] الله
وفتح قريب لعبد الله . . .
Line B. . . بن محمد بن الحسن بن عليّ بن
عبد . . . الله ال . . .
Line C. . . . . وفتح قريب لعبد [الله] . . معد
[الا] مام المستنصر بالله امير [المؤمنين] . . . الله عليه
وع[لى] . . .
Line D. المستنصر بالله امير المؤمنين صلوات
الله عليه وعلى ابائه الطاهرين وابنائه الاكرمين مما . . .

Translation.—Line A: . . . God, blessing . . . [Aid from] God and victory soon for the servant of God . . .

Line B: . . . ibn Muḥammad ibn El Ḥasan ibn 'Alî ibn 'Abd . . . allâh el . . .

Line C: . . . and victory soon for the servant of God . . . Ma'add . . . el imâm El Mustanṣir billâh Commander of the faithful [blessing] of God be on him and on . . .

Line D: . . . El Mustanṣir billâh Commander of the

faithful, blessing of God be on him and on his pure ancestors and his most noble sons. Part of that which . . .

Date.—A.H. 427–487 = A.D. 1036–1095.

Remark.—El Mustanṣir, Fatimid Khalif, reigned between the years mentioned. There are in the South Kensington Museum three other fragments inscribed with his name, and a piece of the same sort without name but bearing a date in his reign is known also. (See *JRAS.* for 1906, p. 393, and for 1923, p. 407.) The present inscription calls for blessing on El Mustanṣir's actual sons and one of the other inscriptions calls for them on his expected sons. The limits of date could, therefore, be narrowed, if the dates of the birth of El Mustanṣir's elder sons could be ascertained. One may wonder what the series of names in Line B of the inscription can represent. Allowance being made for spaces, it would seem that eight names must have been included, and as the line is defective at the beginning and end the series may have been much longer. It seems, prima facie, unlikely that so long a genealogy as eight names on such an object can have related to any one but the Khalif himself; and even though the vexed question of the descent of the Fatimids might now be regarded as having been settled, there would be considerable historical value in such first-rate evidence of the lineage they claimed for themselves as an inscription on one of the royal garments would give. Among the various genealogies assigned to the Fatimids, there is one that includes a sequence Muḥammad ibn El Ḥasan ibn 'Alî as in the inscription (see Wustenfeld, *Geschichte der Fatimiden Chalifen*, p. 13). In the genealogy, the ancestor before 'Alî is Muḥammad, and in the place of this name the inscription reads 'Abd . . . This, however, is not conclusive proof that the inscription differed from the genealogy, for 'Abd may be the beginning of 'Abdallâh, used in its literal sense of servant of God and followed by the name.

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The Origin of the Arabian Lute and Rebec

By HENRY GEORGE FARMER, Ph.D.

"It is mainly in respect of musical instruments that mediaeval Europe was indebted to the Arabs, as I have pointed out many times in *The Precursors of the Violin Family*,[1] and in various articles in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.[2] The chief of these instruments were the lute and the rebab, which, however, were only introduced by the Arabs, not invented by them; they themselves indeed acknowledge their indebtedness to Persia in this respect."—Miss Kathleen Schlesinger, *Is European Musical Theory Indebted to the Arabs? Reply to the Arabian Influence on Musical Theory by H. G. Farmer.*[3]

AMONG the instruments of Mediaeval Europe that contributed most to the progress of the art of music the lute and rebec stand pre-eminent. That they were introduced into Western Europe by the Arabs is generally admitted, and for that reason the question of their original adoption by the Arabs themselves is of some importance, especially in view of the statements of Miss Schlesinger; not only in the above extract, but in the works to which she refers us.

The Lute

I did not suggest in my monograph that the Arabs were the "inventors" of the lute and rebec. What I said was this: "That we owe the lute (Arab. *al-'ūd*) . . . and rebec (Arab. *rabāb*) to the Arabs, is generally admitted, and, indeed, their names and construction tell of their origin."[4] By this I meant, as was fairly obvious from what had preceded, that the Arabs were responsible for the introduction of these instruments in Western Europe. The antiquity of the pear-shaped lute-like instrument is generally accepted nowadays, mainly owing to Miss Schlesinger's own researches. Indeed, the Arabs themselves acknowledged the antiquity of the lute, seeing that according to Ibn Khurdādhbih they refer its

[1] 1910.
[2] 11th edition, 1900–11.
[3] 1925.
[4] See *JRAS*. 1925, p. 62.

"invention" to Lamak,[1] who is the Lamech of *Genesis*, where we read of his son Jubal as "the father of all such as handle the harp (*kinnōr*) and organ (*'ugāb*)". The same authority also points out that the majority of writers attribute the lute to the Greeks.[2] It is clear, therefore, that the Arabs do not altogether "acknowledge their indebtedness to Persia in this respect" as Miss Schlesinger says. One writer, Abū'l-Fidā' (d. 1331), does certainly suggest that the lute was "invented" (استخرج) in the time of the Persian monarch Shāpūr I (241–72),[3] but it is more likely that the word "introduced" would be preferable in this case, since it is not improbable that the instrument that Shāpūr "introduced" was a wooden-bellied lute (*'ūd* = "wood"), known to the Persians as the *barbaṭ*,[4] which was an improvement on their skin-bellied lute of the *rubāb* type. Sāsānian art of the fourth–seventh century which is still preserved, shows us this *barbaṭ*.[5]

The general statement made in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* that the lute "was adopted by the Arabs from Persia" is also not strictly correct. What was adopted from Persia was a particular type of lute as we shall see later. In pre-Islāmic days the Arabs throughout the peninsula possessed the lute or lutes, under the names *mizhar*, *kirān*, and *muwattar*.[6] That the *mizhar* and the *'ūd* were distinct types of lute we know from several authorities.[7] The other names may have been merely regional variations.

[1] Al-Mas'ūdī, *Prairies d'or*, viii, 88–9.

[2] Ibid., p. 99.

[3] Fleischer's translation runs: "Sapor magno . . . ejusdem aetate instrumentum musicum quod *el-'ud* (barbytos) appellatur, inventum esse dicitur." *Abulfedae Historia Anteislamica*, 82–3.

[4] See my *History of Arabian Music*, 16. *Barbaṭ* is the older form of the word. (See *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*.) *Barbuṭ* is a later word. Miss Schlesinger's *barbud* (*Precursors*, p. 488) has no existence so far as the present writer is aware.

[5] Dalton, *Treasures of the Oxus* (2nd ed.), 211.

[6] *Hist. of Arabian Music*, 15.

[7] Madrid MS., 603, fol. 13, v.

In her *Precursors of the Violin Family*, Miss Schlesinger tells us that the Arabs borrowed the lute from the Persians in this wise [1]:—

"The Arabs learned to know the lute . . . from the Persians at the end of the sixth century, when one of their musicians named Al-Naḍr ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Kalada was sent to Khusrau Parwīz to learn to sing and play the lute; through him the lute was brought to Mecca."

My critic does not give her authority for this statement, although we know it in spite of that. It was derived from Carl Engel,[2] who borrowed it from Kiesewetter.[3] The proper version of the story is to be found in Ibn Khurdādhbih, and it reads as follows [4]:—

"In the song (*ghinā'*) the Quraish only knew the *naṣb* until Al-Naḍr ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Kalada returned from a deputation to Al-'Irāq to the Persian king (*kisrā*) in Al-Ḥīra, where he had learned to play the *'ūd* (lute) and the song (*ghinā'*) that accompanied it. When he returned to Mecca he taught the people [these accomplishments] and they were adopted by the singing-girls (*qaināt*)."

It will be observed that Ibn Khurdādhbih does *not* refer to the Arabs in general, but merely to the Quraish of Mecca adopting this *'ūd* which Al-Naḍr had introduced from Al-Ḥīra. Further, the account does *not* say that it was a Persian lute that was brought to Mecca, nor that Al-Naḍr had learned to play it from the Persians. Al-Ḥīra was the capital of the Arab Lakhmid dynasty, which acknowledged the Persian king as suzerain. One famous Persian king, Bahrām Ghūr (430–8), was actually sent to Al-Ḥīra to be educated by the Arabs, and was taught music also by them.[5]

[1] p. 491.

[2] *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Musical Instruments in the South Kensington Museum* (1874), p. 60.

[3] *Musik der Araber*, p. 9.

[4] Al-Mas'ūdī, op. cit., viii, 93–4.

[5] Al-Ṭabarī, i, 185.

Khusrau Parwīz is *not* mentioned in Ibn Khurdādhbih's account, although it is probable that the visit was made during his reign (590–628). Further, the account does *not* say that he was "sent" to this monarch so as to learn "to sing and play the lute". He went on a political deputation.[1] Al-Naḍr was executed by the order of the Prophet Muḥammad in 624, and it would seem that the deputation to Al-Ḥīra took place prior to the delivery of *Sūra*, xxxi (5–6), which is one of the Mecca *sūrāt* dating from 610–22.[2] Probably Al-Naḍr's visit ought to be placed earlier than 602, i.e. prior to the extinction of the Lakhmid dynasty in Al-Ḥīra, when the relations between the latter city and the Persian court at Ctesiphon were cordial.[3] At this period the fame of the Persian minstrel Bārbad or Bārbud was commanding attention.[4]

The Persian lute was adopted much later according to the chronicles. Ibn al-Kalbī (d. 763) tells us that the first to make a lute (*'ūd*) in Al-Medīna was a musician named Sā'ib Khāthir (d. 683).[5] At Mecca, about the year 684, another musician, Ibn Suraij, was playing on an *'ūd* made after the fashion of Persian lutes (*'īdān al-furs*), and it was said that he was the first in Mecca to play Arabian music on it.[6] This lute, copied from the Persian instrument, was clearly of recent adoption, and would appear to have been introduced by the Persian workmen imported by 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair for his building reforms in 684. If the Persian lute of Ibn Suraij was a novelty

[1] Cf. Ibn Hishām (d. 843), *Sīrat al-rasūl* (Wüstenfeld edit.), 191–2, and Ibn al-Athīr (d. 1234), *Chron.* (Tornberg edit.), ii, 55.

[2] Al-Naḍr learned other things besides music at Al-Ḥīra. It was the Persian stories of Rustam and Isfandiyar, and similar legends, that he brought back, that Muḥammad condemned as "idle tales".

[3] *Al-Aghānī*, xx, 134.

[4] Known in Arabic as Fālūdh. For other forms of the name see Professor E. G. Browne's *History of Persia*, i, 14, and *JRAS.* 1899, p. 54. The vocalization with *ḍamma* as above is given in the *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*, p. 238.

[5] *Al-Aghānī*, vii, 188.

[6] *Al-Aghānī*, i, 98.

in Mecca, which it seems to have been, then the lute, introduced by Al-Naḍr eighty years before, was simply an 'Irāqian instrument.

We are distinctly told by the author of the *Kitāb al-aghānī* (d. 967) that the Persian lute continued to be favoured by the Arabs until the time of the famous Baghdād lutanist Zalzal (d. 791), although the old Arabian lute called the *mizhar*, and probably the 'Irāqian lute, also had some vogue. It was Zalzal who introduced a new type of instrument, a "wonderful lute" called the *'ūd al-shabbūṭ*.[1] A little later, another musician of Baghdād named Ziryāb contributed some improvements whilst at the court of Hārūn (786–809) and again at the court of the Andalusian sulṭān 'Abd-al-Raḥmān II (822–52).[2] Since it is highly probable that these improvements found their way into Western Europe, it seems advisable that we should inquire what these improvements were.

The name of the Persian lute, *barbaṭ*, is said by Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Khuwārizmī (fl. 976–97) to have been given to the instrument because it resembled "the breast of the duck",[3] or, as Majd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (d. 1210) says, "because the player upon it places it against his breast."[4] The pre-Islamic poet 'Abīd ibn al-Abraṣ (sixth century), who spent much of his time at Al-Ḥīra, speaks of an instrument with "strings stretched over a hollow curved sound-chest".[5] This would appear to refer to either the Persian or 'Irāqian lute. Yazīd II (720–4) having asked one day for a description of the *barbaṭ* was told that "it is hunchbacked" and "lean of belly" (i.e. flat-bellied).[6] From these descriptions we can recognize the familiar vaulted back of the lute, but evidently the instrument at this period had no separate neck, because

[1] *Al-Aghānī*, v, 24.

[2] Al-Maqqarī, *Moh. Dyn.*, i, 411; ii, 118–19. *Analectes*, ii, 84, 86–7.

[3] *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*, 238.

[4] Lane, *Lex.*, s.v.

[5] *The Dīwāns of 'Abīd b. al-Abraṣ and 'Āmir b. aṭ-Ṭufail.* *Edit. Sir Chas. Lyall*, ix, 5.

[6] *'Iqd al-farīd*, iii, 186.

the whole thing, from the nut downwards, appears to have been made in one graduated piece, probably hollow throughout, similar to the Meccan and Ḥaḍramī *qabūs* which I have described elsewhere.[1] The Persian lute shown in the Sāsānian art work (fourth–seventh centuries), preserved in the British Museum, has an outline which strongly suggests this.[2]

Zalzal's "invention" in the *'ūd al-shabbūṭ* was probably the substitution of a separate and parallel neck, solid throughout, and a separate sound-chest, just as we have them in the modern instrument. There are fairly good reasons for this assumption. The Arabic lexicographers tell us that there was "a species of fish" called the *shabbūṭ*. This fish was "slender in the tail, wide in the middle part, small in the head, resembling a *barbaṭ*", as we are told by Al-Laith ibn Naṣr (eighth century).[3] Further, we read in the *Tāj al-'arūs*, that "the *barbaṭ*, when long, not broad, is likened to this fish, and this fish to the *barbaṭ*". This "slender tail" of the fish called the *shabbūṭ* is evidently the parallel and separate "neck" of the *shabbūṭ* lute (*'ūd al-shabbūṭ*).[4] The lute delineated in the eleventh century (?) silver bowl from Mesopotamia in the Kaiser Friedrich-Museum, Berlin, shows a parallel neck.[5] Later Saracenic art also bears this out.

The Persian lute of the time of Bārbad or Bārbud (sixth–seventh century) was strung with four strings, as we are informed by Khālid ibn al-Fayyād (d. *ca.* 718).[6] With the Arabs, the lute had four strings in the time of Bishr ibn Marwān (d. 694) and Yazīd II (d. 724).[7] Al-Kindī (d. *ca.* 874) [8]

[1] *JRAS.* 1929, p. 492.
[2] Dalton, *Treasures of the Oxus* (2nd edit.), 211.
[3] Lane, *Lex.*, s.v.
[4] Cf. Land, *Trans. of the Ninth Congress of Orientalists*, 1892, ii, 161. See the Portuguese *machête* in Engel's *Catalogue of Musical Instruments*, p. 254, and pl. facing p. 248, which is made in the form of a fish.
[5] See Lachmann, R., *Musik des Orients*, 136.
[6] *JRAS.* 1899, 59.
[7] *'Iqd al-farīd*, iii, 186.
[8] Brit. Mus. MS., Or. 2361, fol. 166.

and Al-Fārābī (d. 950)[1] both speak of a fifth string, which is said to have been introduced by Ziryāb (eighth–ninth century).[2] The Arabs certainly adopted the word for "frets" (*dasātīn*, sing. *dastān*) from the Persians, and apparently altered the old *accordatura* of their lute, which was C-D-G-a, to the Persian one of fourths, A-D-G-c.[3] This latter remained the tuning of the lute up to modern times, save in the Maghrib where the old system is still retained in one form or another.[4]

Ziryāb's "improvements" to the lute date from the late eighth and early ninth century. Whilst at the court of Hārūn (786–809) he had made a heavier lute than the one in general use, and introduced gut for the lower strings instead of the customary silk. At the court of the Andalusian sulṭān 'Abd al-Raḥmān II (822–52) he imported the practice of using a quill *plectrum* instead of the wooden implement hitherto used.[5]

Al-Kindī (d. *ca.* 874) tells us that both the belly and back of the lute were made of thin wood, which was to be of uniform thinness throughout. The dimensions of the instrument appear to have been as follows.[6] The depth of the sound-chest was half of the width, and the widest part was at the beating-place of the *plectrum* or fingers, which was 6·75 cm. (= 3 *aṣābi'*) from the bridge-tailpiece (*mushṭ*). We also get a rough idea of the size of the lute because this beating-place was at the tenth part of the strings. This means that the distance from the nut (*anf*) to the bridge-tailpiece (*mushṭ*) was 75·25 cm. In the four-stringed lute of Al-Kindī, the two lower strings, the *bamm* (A) and *mathlath* (D), were made of

[1] Leyden MS., Cod. 561, Warn., fol. 59, v.

[2] Al-Maqqarī, op. cit., ii, 118–19. The fifth string appears to have been adopted in the East just prior to the year 850, as would appear from a story in the *Kitāb al-aghānī* (v, 53). See also my *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence*, p. 252.

[3] See my *History of Arabian Music*, p. 70.

[4] See my *Historical Facts*, p. 240 et seq.

[5] Al-Maqqarī, *Moh. Dyn.*, ii, 118–19. Cf. *Analectes*, ii, 86–7.

[6] Berlin MS., No. 5530 (Ahlwardt), fol. 25. There is a hiatus in the MS., which makes the sense doubtful.

gut, and were of four and three strands (*ṭabaqāt*) respectively, whilst the higher strings, the *mathnā* (G) and *zīr* (c), were made of silk, and were of two strands and one strand respectively.[1] It was realized, says Al-Kindī, that for the higher strings, which required a greater tension, silk stood the strain better, and also gave a better tone.

The Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (tenth century) say that the length of the lute should be half as much again as its width, whilst its depth should be half of its width, and the neck one-quarter of the length. Its boards (*alwāh*)[2] should be made of thin and light wood only, whilst the belly (*wajh*) should also be of thin, hard, light wood. The "Brethren" say that the four-stringed lute should have all its strings made of silk, and that they should be made of sixty-four, forty-eight, thirty-six, and twenty-seven threads (*ṭāqa*) respectively, from the *bamm* to the *zīr*.

Such was the instrument that became the parent of the European lute, an instrument with a separate neck, which was "invented" at the Baghdād court of the 'Abbāsids. Amongst Persian authors, however, we still find the term *barbaṭ* used for the new lute, and even among Arabic authors of Persian training, such as Ibn Sīnā, but that was due to the fact that the word *barbaṭ* like the word *'ūd* was generic for all types of the lute.

The old pear-shaped *barbaṭ* type of lute, without a definite neck, still continued to be used, and we see it side by side with the *'ūd* in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*.[3] Whether it was still known in Spain by the name *barbaṭ* we do not know. Miss Schlesinger says that the name *barbaṭ* was used by the Moors of Spain for one of their instruments in the fourteenth century, but the authority that she quotes (at second or

[1] See *JRAS.* 1928, 515.

[2] The narrow strips of board that compose the back of the lute are referred to here.

[3] Cf. Riaño, *Notes on Early Spanish Music*, p. 114, for the *'ūd*, and p. 115 for the *barbaṭ* or *mizhar*.

third hand) is the *Kitāb al-imtā' wa'l-intifā'*, and the author is not dealing only with contemporary musical instruments.[1]

THE REBEC

"The Arabs declare," says Miss Schlesinger, "that it was from the Persians they obtained the *rabāb*, and probably the fiddle-bow at the same time, but this is not stated, yet the Arab name for the bow is derived from the Persian."[2] This statement is repeated in her article "Rebab" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, where we are further informed that the word used by the Arabs for "bow" is *kamān*.[3] The authority for these statements is not given in either of these cases, but, again, it would seem that Engel has been the source.[4]

I am not aware that the Arabs declare that they obtained the *rabāb* and bow from the Persians. The earliest authority to mention the instrument in connection with Persia is Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Khuwārizmī (fl. 976–97), who says: "The *rabāb* is well-known to the people of Persia and Khurāsān."[5] He was writing in the land of the Sāmānids. His contemporaries Al-Fārābī (d. 950)[6] and the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (tenth century),[7] also show us that the instrument was "well-known" in Syria and Mesopotamia.

Legend among Islāmic peoples says that the *rabāb* was played before Solomon, whilst tradition has it that the instrument was known to the Arabs in pre-Islamic times.[8]

[1] In point of fact, her authority is given as a book entitled, *Enumeration of Arab Musical Instruments*, xiv, c, which so far as the present writer is aware, has no existence under this title. See my *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence*, pp. 336–7.

[2] *Precursors of the Violin Family*, 398.

[3] xxii, 948.

[4] Engel, op. cit., 63. *Researches into the Early History of the Violin Family*, 13.

[5] *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*, 237. Cf. Clement Huart's article in Lavignac's *Ency. de la Musique*, p. 3071. Ribera, op. cit., 51.

[6] Leyden MS., Or. 651, fol. 80.

[7] Bombay edit., i, 92, 97.

[8] Evliyā Chelebī, *Travels*, i, ii, 226, 234.

This is borne out by another authority which cites Al-Khalīl (d. 791) as saying that "the ancient Arabs sang their poems to its [the *rabāb's*] voice ".[1] The way in which the instrument is mentioned in the *Risāla fī faḍl 'ilm al-mūsīqī* by Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Kanjī (?) would seem to show that the *rabāb* was looked upon as an Arabian instrument.[2] The tradition in the Maghrib is that it was invented by an Arab during his captivity among the Christians.[3]

Some writers favour a Persian origin of the *rabāb* on the ground that the name itself is derived from the Persian word *rawāwa*.[4] What the Persian lexicographers say is that the word *rawāwa* is another form of *rubāb*, a Persian lute.[5] *Rawāwa* is said to be made up of two Persian words, but this etymology looks quite factitious, and is probably quite modern. The term *rawāwa* as the name of a lute does not appear to be used in any Persian work on music. At any rate, a writer like Al-Jawālīqī, who specialized in words of foreign extraction, does not notice *rabāb* as an Arabicized word.

It would seem, however, that the ordinary Arabic root *rabba* (ربّ), which means "to collect, arrange, assemble together", is just as likely to be the parent word, because it was the application of the bow to a stringed instrument that "collected, arranged, assembled together" a number of short notes into one long note, a point which accords with the terminology of the Arab theorists. The *rabāb* was not, therefore, strictly speaking, an instrument of a particular shape or construction, but was essentially an "instrument played with a bow", in much the same way as the Persian *kamānch̲a* was, except that the latter bore this fact more clearly stamped in its name. It was the application of the bow

[1] Huth MS. The author's.
[2] Berlin MS. (Ahlwardt), 5527, fol. 47, v.
[3] Delphin et Guin, *Notes sur la poesie et la musique arabe*, 59.
[4] Engel, *Researches, etc.*, 12. Curt Sachs, *Reallexikon*, s.v.
[5] *Bahār-i 'ajam* and *Burhān-i qāṭi'*.

that caused the flat-chested guitar, the boat-shaped lute, and the pear-shaped lute to be named the *rabāb*.

The bow evidently came from the East, but the Arabs do not acknowledge that they borrowed it from the Persians, and Miss Schlesinger's reason for making the suggestion (adopted from Engel or his copyists) is of little value because the Persian word for bow which is *kamān*, is not used by the Arabs. The Arabic word *qaus* has always sufficed for their needs in reference to the fiddle-bow. On the other hand, the Persians borrowed *from the Arabs* their terms *zakhma* and *miḍrāb* for the plectrum, and have even used them for the fiddle-bow.

Since the Byzantines had a bowed instrument in the eighth–ninth century,[1] we may conclude that the Arabs had it also, and perhaps even earlier. Fétis informs us in his *Antoine Stradivari* (1856) that a bow with a fixed nut may be seen among the ornaments decorating a collection of poems in an Arabic MS. at Vienna dating from the time of the first khalifs. Since Al-Fārābī mentions the *rabāb* it might be argued that the Arabs possessed the bow in the tenth century,[2] but the late Dr. Land pointed out, this would be a false assumption, because, he said, we have no contemporary evidence of the bow.[3] Miss Schlesinger also says that Al-Fārābī does not mention the bow.[4]

It is quite true that Al-Fārābī does not mention the bow in the chapter on the *rabāb* [5] in his *Kitāb al-mūsīqī*. That is probably due to the fact that he was more concerned with *what* notes were produced on the instrument than with *how* they were produced. For the same reason we are not told about the plectrum among the plucked stringed instruments

[1] *L'Arte* (1896), i, 24. Miss Schlesinger's earlier example from the paintings at Baouït, is doubtful.

[2] Fétis, *Hist. Gén. de la Musique*, ii, 144.

[3] Land, *Recherches*, 55.

[4] *Enc. Brit.*, xxii, 948. See also E. Heron-Allen's *Violin-Making* (1885), p. 41, and Grove's *Dictionary of Music* (2nd ed.), v, 289.

[5] Al-Fārābī does not write *rabāba* as Miss Schlesinger says.

or the reed in the wood-wind. Yet, in spite of this we have "contemporary evidence of the bow", and it is to be found in Al-Fārābī, although the passage appears to have escaped notice.

After dealing with instruments of the harp (*jank*) family, which, says Al-Fārābī, were furnished with strings "set apart for every note", as well as those instruments of the lute (*'ūd*) and pandore (*ṭunbūr*) group possessing one string or more which gave other notes (by fingering) than those given by the open strings, he then refers to those instruments "*upon whose strings are drawn other strings*" (وَكَذٰلِكَ الَّتِي تُجَرُّ عَلَى أَوْتَارِهَا أَوْتَارٌ أُخَرُ).[1] Here the bow is clearly implied, since there can be no doubt about the verb *jarra*.[2]

The testimony of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (tenth century) also appears to be worthy of attention. They do not actually mention the bow, but its use is implied nevertheless. In *faṣl* 2 of their *risāla* on music these savants deal with the theory of sound.[3] On the quantitative side, sounds are described under two headings—disjunct (*munfaṣil*) and conjunct (*muttaṣil*). In musical instruments it is shown that *disjunct* sounds are to be found in the short notes produced by stringed instruments, such as the *'ūd*, and by percussion instruments such as the *qaḍīb* (wand). "As for *conjunct* sounds" say the Brethren, "they are like the sounds of *mizmār*, *nāy*, *rabāb*, *dūlāb*, and *nā'ūr*."[4] Needless to say, it

[1] Kosegarten, *Lib. Cant.*, 77.

[2] This may also be the parent of the English word "jar" (a tremulous vibration).

[3] See my *Arabic Musical MSS. in the Bodleian Library*, p. 5.

[4] Bombay ed., i, 91–2. All these instruments are written in the plural except the *rabāb*. The Cairo (A.H. 1306) text, and that of Dieterici (*Die Abhand. der Ichwān es-Safā*) as well as the latter's *Propaedeutik der araber*, give *dubdāb* in the place of *rabāb*. The *dabdāb* was a drum, and is clearly a copyist's error. *Rabāb* is given in the Bombay text, and in the two Bodleian MSS.

The terms *dūlāb* and *nā'ūr* are given to a "water wheel", but it is not improbable that they were also the names of musical instruments. The *dūlāb* of Ibn Ghaibī was a "hurdy-gurdy".

was the bow on the strings of the *rabāb* that produced this *conjunct* sound.

Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037) is even more definite on this question. In his great work the *Shifā'*, after dealing with instruments of the lute type such as the *barbaṭ*, of the psaltery type (?) such as the *shahrūdh*, and of the harp type such as the *ṣanj* (= *jank*), he then proceeds to deal with instruments " possessed of strings and frets which are not beaten upon, but are drawn upon like the *rabāb* ".[1] Again, the verb *jarra* unmistakably implies the bow.

Ibn Zaila (d. 1048) describes two kinds of sound-producing musical instruments. (1) " Those that are sounded by a beating (*qar'*) . . . and whose notes are cut off with the cessation of the [vibration caused by the] beating like the *'ūd* and the *ṣanj* and what resembles them." (2) " Those from which the sound . . . is prolonged (*mumtadd*) and is conjunct (*muttaṣil*), like the *nāy*, *surnāy*, and *rabāb*." [2] That it was the bow that effected this " prolonged sound " in the *rabāb* we know from a statement of his elsewhere where he says that the *rabāb* is played by being *drawn upon*.[3]

These quotations prove the existence of the bow with the Arabs in the tenth and eleventh centuries, although they must have had it much earlier, and they dispose of Hugo Riemann's contention that the Orientals make no mention of bowed instruments prior to the fourteenth century.

The late Dr. J. P. N. Land regretted that the Leyden copy of the Persian treatise on music entitled the *Kanz al-tuḥaf* did not contain a design of the *rabāb*, although the instrument was fully described.[4] Yet other copies of this work contain a design, and no bow is shown with the instrument, although in the design of the *ghishak*, a kind of *kamāncha*, the bow is delineated side by side with the instrument.[5] The reason

[1] India Office MS., 1811, fol. 173.
[2] Brit. Mus. MS., Or. 2361, fol. 235, v.
[3] Ibid., fol. 235.
[4] Land, *Recherches* . . . , 55.
[5] Brit. Mus. MS., Or. 2361, fol. 262.

for the omission is that the instrument described is the *rubāb*, a species of lute, and not the *rabāb*.[1] It was a lute in the thirteenth century, and such it still remains. Indeed, its structure has scarcely altered during the centuries.[2]

Concerning the history of the *rabāb* in Spain Miss Schlesinger says: "The Arab scholar Al-Shaqundī, who flourished in Spain about A.D. 1200, states that the *rabāb* had been known for centuries in Spain, but was not mentioned on account of its want of artistic merit." [3] No source for this statement is given, but again it would seem to have been derived from Engel, or his copyists, who is misquoted.[4] All that we possess of the writings of Al-Shaqundī (d. 1231) is contained in the *Nafḥ al-ṭīb* of Al-Maqqarī (d. 1632) and here only the word *rabāb* is mentioned in a list of musical instruments.[5]

Whilst Miss Schlesinger acknowledges the antiquity of both the boat-shaped and the pear-shaped *rabāb*,[6] she says that we have no proof of the antiquity of the flat-chested instrument, known nowadays as the *rabāb al-shā'ir*.[7] "No evidence," she says, "has yet been brought forward that the *rabāb al-shā'ir* was in use among the Arabs who conquered Spain in the eighth century; if the instrument was indeed ever introduced into Spain, it has left no trace." [8]

The evidence of the frescoes of Quṣair 'Amra (eighth century)

[1] Ibid., fol. 262, v.

[2] Advielle, *La Musique chez les Persans en 1885*, p. 13 and plate. Uspensky, *Klassicheskaya Muzyka Uzbekov* ("Sovietsky Uzbekistan", Tashkent, 1927), p. 306. Fitrat, *Uzbīk qilāssiq mūsiqāsī* (Tashkent, 1927), p. 42.

[3] *Ency. Brit.*, xxii, 948.

[4] *Descr. Cat. . . . South Kensington Museum*, 62. Engel says: "Al-Shaqundī, who lived in Spain about A.D. 1200, mentions the *rabāb*, which may have been in use for centuries without having been thought worthy of notice, on account of its rudeness." For other misquotations see E. Heron-Allen's *Violin-Making* (1885), p. 41, and Grove's *Dictionary of Music* (2nd ed.), v, 289.

[5] Al-Maqqarī, *Moh. Dyn.*, i, 365–6.

[6] *Ency. Brit.*, loc. cit.

[7] *Precursors of the Violin Family*, 396.

[8] *Ency. Brit.*, loc. cit.

is sufficient proof that the Arabs of Umayyad days knew of a flat-chested instrument, although it was not bowed in this instance.[1] E. W. Lane was of opinion [2] that the ancient *rabāb* was " probably similar " to the modern *rabāb al-shā'ir* depicted in his *Modern Egyptians*, which is a flat-chested instrument.[3] Wallaschek also took the view that the original shape of the *rabāb* was that of a guitar.[4] We know from Ibn Ghaibī (d. 1435) that the *badāwī* Arabs used this rectangular flat-chested instrument. It had a sound-chest (*qasa*), he says, like the " mould of a brick ", with a skin belly and back, and one horse-hair string.[5] This *murabba'* (= " square ") was still known to the Arabs in the eighteenth century by this very name, and it was a bowed instrument identical with the *rabāb al-shā'ir.*[6] The *rabāb* with some of the *badāwī* Arabs, as well as with some of the townsmen, was still played guitar-wise, i.e. without a bow, in the nineteenth century.[7] Lastly, the original name for the guitar in Arabic is said to be *murabba'*, and the latter was claimed to be a national instrument. This is stated by M. Soriano-Fuertes in his *Música Árabe-Española* on the authority of Al-Shalāḥī (date, 1301).[8]

Miss Schlesinger says that " Al-Fārābī . . . distinctly states that the *rabāb* was also known as the *lyra* ".[9] I cannot recall that the great Arabic theorist has anywhere used the words

[1] *Kuṣejr 'Amra*, Vienna, 1907, pl. xxxiv. (Published by *Kais. Akad. der Wiss.*)

[2] Lane, *Lex.*, s.v. ربّ.

[3] Lane, *Modern Egyptians* (5th ed.), 364.

[4] *Primitive Music* (1893), 130.

[5] Bodleian MS., No. 1842, fol. 78, v.

[6] Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie* (1776). Laborde, op. cit., i, 381.

[7] Crichton, *History of Arabia*, ii, 380. Burckhardt, *Bedouins and Wahabys*, and *Travels in Arabia*, i, 398. Burton, *Personal Narrative* . . . , iii, 76. Cf. Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, i, 41, 98, 263, 264.

[8] Barcelona (1853), p. 54. The MS. of Al-Shalāḥī (= *Kitāb al-imtā' wa'l-intifā'*, Madrid MS., No. 603), does not appear to wholly confirm this, or at least not fol. 15, which deals with the *kaithār*. I might also mention that Al-Shalāḥī does not give any of the forms *rabel*, *arrabel*, or *arrabil*, as Miss Schlesinger says. (*Ency. Brit.*, xxii, 947.)

[9] *Ency. Brit.*, xxii, 950.

lyra. Kosegarten, in translating passages from Al-Fārābī's *Kitāb al-mūsīqī*, has certainly translated the word *rabāb* by *lyra*.[1] Curiously enough, an interesting passage occurs in Al-Mas'ūdī (d. *ca.* 956), taken from Ibn Khurdādhbih (*d.* 912), which throws a side-light on the point. Speaking of the musical instruments of the Byzantines, he says: "And to them is the *lūrā* [= λύρα], and it is the *rabāb*, and to it are five strings."[2] Having the Carrand casket before us, it might be reasonably assumed that the favoured type of *rabāb* at the time of Ibn Khurdādhbih was the pear-shaped instrument.[3] On the other hand, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Khuwārazmī (fl. 976–97) says that in Greek the word for *ṣanj* (harp) is *lūr*.[4]

That the *rabāb* was "mentioned" by writers in Spain before the time of Al-Shaqundī (d. 1231), and that it had "artistic merit", is evident from the poets Abū Bakr Yaḥyā ibn Hudhail (d. 995),[5] Ibn Ḥazm (d. 1064),[6] and others.

That the flat-chested *rabāb* left its trace in Spain, we have the testimony of the altar piece from the Cistercian monastery of Nuestra St. de Piedra in Aragon (fourteenth century).[7] Indeed, the *vihuela de arco* of Juan Ruiz (fourteenth century)[8] was probably the oval flat-chested instrument depicted in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (thirteenth century).[9] In the thirteenth century *Vocabulista in Arabico* we have the word *rabāb* equated with *viella*,[10] which leads one to suspect that the author must surely have had the flat-chested instrument in

[1] Kosegarten, *Lib. Cant.*, 45, 105.

[2] Al-Mas'ūdī, op. cit., viii.

[3] See my *Historical Facts* . . ., 20. The modern Greeks still call their pear-shaped rebec a *lyra*.

[4] Or *lūrā*. *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*, 236.

[5] Madrid MS., No. 603, fol. 15.

[6] Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl, *Safīnat al-mulk*, 473.

[7] Riaño, op. cit., 128. Ribera, *La Música de las Cantigas*, pl., Angel No. 2.

[8] Juan Ruiz, *Libro de Buen amor* (Edit. Ducamin), verse, 1254.

[9] Riaño, op. cit., 114. Ribera, op. cit., fig. ii.

[10] Edited by Schiaparelli.

mind. In the earlier *Glossarium Latino Arabicum* (eleventh century), the *rabāb* is called the *lyra dicta*.[1]

From the foregoing evidence that has been adduced, it would appear that we have good reasons for acknowledging the antiquity of the flat-chested instrument with the Arabs, and its existence with them in Spain, which would give it a place in the ancestry of the modern guitar and violin.

[1] Edited by Seybold. What was the Mediaeval *baldosa*, *baudosa*, *baudoise*, *baudoire*? Several conjectures have been made. Could it have been a rectangular flat-chested instrument? In Spanish, "a square brick or tile" is called a *baldosa*. The *murabba'* (rectangular flat-chested instrument of the Arabs) described by Ibn Ghaibī, had a sound-chest like the "mould of a brick".

The Kumzari Dialect of the Shihuh Tribe, Arabia, and a Vocabulary

By BERTRAM THOMAS

KUMZĀRI is a dialect spoken exclusively by certain coastal elements of the Shiḥuḥ tribe, the Kumāzara section, who occupy Kumzār at the head of the Musandam Peninsula of Oman, and are found at Dibah, Khasab, the coastal villages of Elphinstone and Malcolm Inlets and at Larek Island.

This strange tongue, inadvisedly suggested by S. Zwemer as likely to possess affinities with the Himyaritic languages, has also given rise to the pardonable, though I think erroneous, belief that those who use it are pre-Semitic and aboriginal to this part of Arabia.

Kumzāri is largely a compound of Arabic and Persian, but is distinct from them both. As spoken it is comprehensible neither to the Arab nor to the Persian visitor of usual illiteracy, though to a student of the two languages, many of its obscurities vanish before a word list reduced to paper. Structurally it is non-Semitic. The claim by a section of the people whose mother tongue it is, all fishermen incidentally, to be descendants of Malik bin Faham the Yemeni conqueror of Oman, probably in the second century A.D., while a claim lacking in proof or probability, seems to argue for it a considerable antiquity. Some of its Persian words, indeed, derive, according to a local Mutawwa, from the old classical "Farsi" of remoter Persia rather than the familiar "Ajmi" or colloquial Persian of the Persian Gulf seaboard.

Kumzāri is not a written language,[1] and the grammatical rules and vocabulary which follow I have collected, with the help of Ali Muhammad my Arab secretary, from the lips of its illiterate exponents. These all speak Arabic as well;

[1] Kumzāri has not before been written up, though Lieut.-Col. Jayakar has left a slight note as an appendix to a paper "The Shihee Dialect of Arabic", *Bombay Journal R.A.S.*, April, 1902.

not the unique and perplexing Arabic of their fellow Shiḥuḥ tribesmen of the mountains (they have one feature in common, namely the stressing of the *r* as in an Irish brogue,—the Urdu ڑ) but the Omani dialect, a dialect of Arabic that is to say, which, judged by local standards, is free from foreign accent or contamination.

My word list of Kumzāri admits of the following summary :

	Words.	%
(*a*) Words related to Persian roots . .	246 =	44
(*b*) Words related to Arabic roots . . .	186 =	34
(*c*) Words untraced	121 =	22
Total .	553 words.	

A point of interest is that while Kumzāri is non-Arabic in grammatical structure, and its words akin to Persian roots are one-third more numerous than those akin to Arabic ones, the pronunciation of the oft-recurring long alif " ا " is a flat *a* sound, that accords with the Arabic value of that character, and not its Persian value.[1]

Kumzāri has no ع sound. In words of Arabic derivation أ is generally substituted or sometimes ه, e.g. (Ar.) صعب (K.)

[1] The Interior mountain Shiḥuḥ use an Arabic dialect which in this connection is anomalous, for their "alif" has a Persian value (as *aw*) ; و often becomes *v*, and there are other sound values foreign to local or Badawin standards (see Appendix A). And this despite the facts—

(i) Arabic is their only language (see Appendix A). They know not Kumzāri or Persian and being mountain Badus are less exposed than the Kumāzara to external influences.

(ii) They are in racial appearance distinct from the Kumāzara, who are probably of South Persian origin. (The generic name Shiḥuḥ locally applied to the two elements would thus appear to be ethnologically unsatisfactory.)

(iii) They have a tradition of Sabian origin from the Yemen ; and their physiognomy is Semitic. Customs of both elements, some of them unique in the Arabian peninsula, and a description of the habitat are the subject of my communication to the *Journal of the Central Asian Society*, vol. xv, 1928, " The Musandam Peninsula and its people, the Shihuh."

کاکَلَه (K.) قلعه (Ar.) اوَگ, (K.) اعوج (Ar.) صشه, "difficult", "crooked", "fort". The sound values of ط and ذ are rare: ص comparatively rare. د has occasionally the sound value of the Urdu ڈ, e.g. *durāz* ڈراز "long". ز is sometimes a lisped ظ as in زنك "woman". ر has the Urdu value ڑ, e.g. خیر. ق of Arabic derived words sometimes changes to ك, e.g. (K.) کافله (Ar.) قافله. ج may become د or گ, e.g. (Ar.) شجره (K.) شدره, (Ar.) جراد (K.) گارد "caravan", "tree", "locust".

Grammatical Rules of Kumzāri

The Personal Pronoun

I	*may'am*	مَيَم
Thou	*tōwī*	تَوِي
He or she	*yīheh*	يِيهَه
We	*māhim*	مَاهِم
You (male or female)	*shumā'eh*	شُمَائه
They (male or female)	*yehin*	يَهِن

More commonly :—

I	*meh*	مَـه	(*e* as in "met")
Thou	*to*	تَو	(*o* ,, "toll")
He or she	*yeh* or *īyeh*	يَـه	(*e* ,, "yet")

We	*mah*	مَه	(*a* ,, "malt")
You (male or female)	*shumah'*	شُمَه	(*a* ,, "path")
They (male or female)	*shen*	شَنْ	(*e* ,, "pent")

As suffixes for possessive pronouns, the latter are employed,

e.g. *kāfileh* caravan كَافلَه

kāfile'meh my caravan كَا فلَمَه

sōgh	dog	(sing.)		(pl.)	
My dog	(dogs)	*sugh'meh*	سُغْمَهْ	*saghāmeh*	سَغَامَه
Thy dog	,,	*sugh'tō*	سُغْتَو	*saghā'tō*	سَغَاتَو
His or her dog	,,	*sugh'yeh*	سُغْيَهْ	*saghāyeh*	سَغَايَه
Our dog	,,	*sugh'mah*	سُغْمَهْ	*saghāmah*	سَغَامَهْ
Your dog	,,	*sugh'shumah'*	سُغْشُمَهْ	*saghāshumah'*	سَغَاشُمَه
Their dog	,,	*sugh'shen*	شُغْشَن	*saghāshen*	سَغَاشَنْ

The Article

The article agrees with the noun in number. It is formed by a suffix as follows:—

Indefinite (sing.) *eh* or *te* ة or ةْ where noun has vowel or ة ending.

Definite (sing.) *o* or *to* او or تَو

Indefinite (pl.)

Definite (pl.) اِن *in* or *en* أن

Man *murdk* مُـردك ; woman *zank* زَنْك ; tree *shid'reh* شِدْرَه
birds *ṭayren.*

The man	*murd'kō*	مُرْدْكَو
A man	*murd'keh*	مُرْدْكَه
A tree	*shid'reteh*	شِدرَتَه
The tree	*shid'retō*	شِدرَتو
Birds	*ṭayren*	طَيرَن
The birds	*ṭayren'in*	طَيرَنِنْ

The Noun

Nouns have no gender.
There is no diminutive form.
The plural is formed by adding *en* or *an* أن إن.

e.g.

Father	*bap*	باپ	Fathers	*bapan*	بَاپَن
Dog	*sōgh*	سوَغ	Dogs	*saghan*	سَاغَن
Bird	*ṭayr*	طَيْرْ	Birds	*ṭayren*	طَيْرَنْ
Caravan	*kāfileh*	كَا فِلَهْ	Caravans	*kāfile'en*	كَافِلَئِن

The final *n* of a plural noun form is elided, when the noun has a prenominal suffix, and the link vowel is usually then stressed, but not invariably so, e.g. :—

Caravans *kāfile'en* كَا فِلَئِنْ

My caravans	*kāfilaimeh*	كَافِلَيْمَهْ
Dogs	*saghen*	سَاغِنْ
Our dogs	*saghāmeh*	سَغَامَهْ
Women	*zanken*	زَنْكَنْ
Their women	*zankeshen*	زَنْكَشَنْ

Summary :—

An animal	*ḥaiwaneh*	حَيْوَنَهْ
The animal	*ḥaiwanō*	حَيْوَنو
Animals	*ḥaiwanin*	حَيْوَنِنْ
The animals	*ḥaiwan'enin*	حَيْوَنِنْ
Your animal	*ḥaiwan'shumah'*	حَيْوَنْشُمَهْ
Your animals	*ḥaiwan'enshumah'*	حَيْوَنَنْشُمَهْ

There is no dual form.

All numbers from two upwards take the plural, e.g. :—

One sheep	*yek ghōs*	يَكْ غوسْ
Two sheep	*doh ghōsen*	دوه غوسَنْ
Three sheep	*soh ghōsen*	سَوه غوسَنْ
Eleven sheep	*yaz'data ghōsen*	يَازْدَتَا غوسَنْ
One hundred sheep	*hazaratta ghōsen*	هَزَرَتَّا غوسَنْ

No distinction would appear to be made between ordinal and cardinal numbers.

A modified set of numbers is in peculiar use for human beings. (For the most part the vowel of the ordinary numbers is then modified and the suffix کَس = "individual" added; and from 7 upwards suffix کَس is substituted for suffix تا.)

Thus :—

1	*yek*	یَـك	1 person	*yekkay*	یَکَّیْ
2	*doh*	دَوه	2 persons	*dukkas*	دُکَسْ
3	*soh*	سَوه	3 persons	*sukkas*	سُـکَسْ
4	*char*	چَارْ	4 persons	*char'kas*	چَارْکَسْ
5	*panj*	پَنج	5 persons	*pan'jikas*	پانجِکَسْ
6	*shish*	شِشْ	6 persons	*shish'kas*	شِشْکَسْ
7	*haf'ta*	هفْتَا	7 persons	*haf'kas*	هفْکَسْ
60	*shas'ta*	شَسْتَا	60 persons	*shas'kas*	شَسْکَسْ

Numbers have no gender, e.g. :—

Two bull camels	*doh jāmilen*	دَوه جَامِلَن
Two cow camels	*doh nāga'en*	دَوه نَاگَئَنْ

The Adjective

The adjective like the noun has no gender. It agrees with the noun and pronoun in number. The forms are as follows :—

Indefinite (sing.)	*eh*	ه
Definite (sing.)	*o*	او
Indefinite (pl.) Definite (pl.)	*an* or *en*	اَنْ اِنْ

e.g.

A big man	*murd'keh gay'peh*	مُرْدْ كَهْ گَيْپَهْ
The big man	*murd'ko gō'pō*	مُرْدْ كَوْ گَوْپَوْ
The big men	*murd'ken gāpan*	مُرْدْ كَنْ گَاپَنْ

The following forms occur with pronouns.

Note that 1st person sing. and pl. are the same, also 2nd person sing. and pl.

I am big	*meh gaypa'im*	مَهْ گَيْپَئِمْ
Thou art big	*to gaypa'i*	تو گَيْپَئِي
He or she is big	*īyeh gaypeh*	اِيَهْ گَيْپَهْ
We are big	*mah gaypa'im*	مَهْ گَيْپَئِمْ
You (male and female) are big	*shumah' gaypa'i*	شُمَهْ گَيْپَئِي
They (male and female) are big	*shen gaypen*	شَنْ گَيْپَنْ

There is no diminutive.

There is a comparative but no superlative.

The comparative has two numbers and is formed by suffixes, thus :—

Singular	*te'rah*	تَرَهْ
Plural	*te'rin*	تَرِنْ

e.g.

He is big	*yeh gaypeh*	يَهْ گَيْپَهْ
He is bigger	*yeh gup'tera*	يَهْ گُپْتَرَه
She is small	*yeh chik'eh*	يَهْ چِكَهْ
She is smaller	*yeh chikt'erah*	يَهْ چِكْتَرَه
This is black	*īyeh siy'eh*	إِيَه سِيئَهْ
This is blacker	*iyeh siyet'erah*	إِيَه سِيَتَرَهْ
I am fat	*meh sakhti'im*	مَهْ سَخْتِئِم
He is fatter	*yeh sakhterah*	يَه سَخْتَرَه
The tall ship	*jehā'zō durā'zō*	جَهَازو دُرَازَوْ
These are tall	*aishin'ena durā'zin*	إِيشنَنَا دُرَازِنْ
Those are taller	*ashin'ena durāz'terin*	أَشَنِنَا دُرَازْتَرِنْ

The Verb

There are no gender distinctions.

There is no infinitive form.

Such a phrase as "I wished to go" is expressed "I wish I go", as it would be in colloquial Arabic. Similarly, "He

agrees to buy" by "He agrees he buys". Taking the 3rd person singular past tense (as in Arabic) as a basis, four different verb forms are then represented in the following examples :—

(I) He asked	*suwāl'gid'ish* or	سُؤاْل گِدِش
	suwālgur'dish	سُؤاْل گُردِشْ
(II) He struck	*buzur'dish*	بُزُرْدِشْ
(III) He sold	*fōshnid'ish*	فوشْنِدِشْ
(IV) He ran	*burwad*	بُرْوَدْ

It would appear that the terminations *gidish*, *dish*, and *d* are all parts of the auxiliary verb *gid'ish* گِدِش or *gur'dish* گُرْدِشْ (he took, he made), hence their elimination in certain conjugations. What remains after this process is applied to 3rd person singular past tense may be taken as the root. It is generally triliteral, e.g. *bgr* ب گ ر, *f sh n* ف ش ن, *brw* ب ر و.

Suwālgid'ish would appear to be the most regular verb form. The vocabulary shows the verbs for begun, cut, spoke, played, obeyed, rode, swam, walked, wrote, worked to be all of this form.

The imperative is formed by adding to the root the suffix *kin* (sing.) کِنْ, *kai* (pl.) کَيْ, e.g. *suwalkin* سُؤاْل کِنْ, *mejemekin* مَجْمکِنْ, *rukubkai* رُکُبْکَی, *shnaukai* شْنَوْکَيْ.

The past participle is formed by the suffix *gurseh* (sing.) گُرْسَهْ, *gursin* (pl.) گُرْسِنْ, e.g. *suwāl'gur'sin* سُوأَل گُرْسِنْ, *mejemegur'sin* مَجْمَ گُرسِنْ, *rukubgur'sin* رُكُبْ گُرْسِنْ.

The present and past tenses are as follows:—

	Past Tense.		Present Tense.	
meh	*suwālgūdum*	مَهْ سُوأَل گُدُم	*suwāltikum'*	مَهْ سُوأَل تِكُمْ
to	*suwāl'gi'di*	تَو سُوأَل گِدِيْ	*suwāltikī'*	تَوْ سُوأَل تِكِيْ
yeh	*suwāl'gi'dish*	يَهْ سُوأَل گِدِشْ	*suwāltikeh'*	يَهْ سُوأَل تِكَهْ
mah	*suwālgu'dim*	مَهْ سُوأَل گُدِمْ	*suwāltikum'*	مَهْ سُوأَل تِكُمْ
shuma	*suwālgi'di*	شُمَهْ سُوأَل گِدِيْ	*suwāltiki'*	شُمَهْ سُوأَل تِكِيْ
shen	*suwālgi'din*	شَنْ سُوأَل گِدِنْ	*suwāltikin'*	شَنْ سُوأَل تِكِنْ

A comparison of this regular form (I) and the irregular forms (II), (III), and (IV) is as follows:—

Form.	3rd Person Sing. Past.	3rd Person Sing. Present.	Imperative.	Past Participle.
(I)	*suwālgi'dish*	*suwāltikeh'*	*suwālkin*	*suwālgur'seh*
	سُوأَل گِدِشْ	سُوأَل تِكَهْ	سُوأَل كِنْ	سُوأَل گُرسَهْ
(II)	*buzur'dish*	*bizaina*	*bizen* (s.)	*bizur'seh* (s.)
	بُزُرْدِشْ	بِزَيْنَهْ	بِزَنْ	بِزُرْسَهْ
			bizainah (pl.)	*bizur'sen* (pl.)
			بِزَيْنَهْ	بِزُرْسَنْ

Form.	3rd Person Sing. Past.	3rd Person Sing. Present.	Imperative.	Past Participle.
(III)	*burwad*	*turwa'eh*	*burwā* (s.)	*burwaseh* (s.)
	بُرُوَدْ	تُرواءه	بُرُوَا	بُرُوَسَهْ
			burwānah (pl.)	*burwasen* (pl.)
			بُرُوا نَهْ	بُرُوَسَنْ
(IV)	*fōshni'dish*	*tafōshna*	*fōshin* (s.)	*fōshniseh* (s.)
	فَوشْنِدِشْ	تَفَوشْنَهْ	فَوشِنْ	فَوشْنِسَهْ
			fōshinah (pl.)	*fōshnisin* (pl.)
			فَوشْنَهْ	فَوشْنِسِنْ

In (II) the present tense and imperative would appear to belong to another verb *bazan'dish* بَزَنْدِشْ; or alternatively the ر of the past tense becomes ز in the present tense or vice versa.

In (III) initial ب *b* of root becomes ت *t* in present tense.

In (IV) an initial ت is prefixed in the present tense. The three forms are identical in their mode of forming (*a*) the past participle by the suffix سَهْ (sing.) and سَنْ or سِنْ (pl.), *seh* (sing.), *sen, sin* (pl.); (*b*) the imperative plural by the suffix نَهْ *nah*.

The past tense conjugations of the forms (II), (III), and (IV) are as follows :—

	(II)	(III)	(IV)
meh	*buzur'dum*	*burwādum*	*fōshnidum*
	مَه بُزُرْدُمْ	مَه بُرُوادُمْ	مَهْ فَوشْنِدِمْ

	(II)	(III)	(IV)
to	*buzur'di*	*burwādi*	*fōshnidi*
	تو بُزُرْدِيْ	تو بُرْوادِيْ	تو فَوشْنِدِيْ
yeh	*burzur'dish*	*burwad*	*fōshnidish*
	يَهْ بُزُرْدِش	يَهْ بُرْوَدْ	يَهْ فَوشْنِدِش
mah	*buzur'dim*	*burwādim*	*fōshnidim*
	مَهْ بُزُرْدِمْ	مَهْ بُرْوادِمْ	مَهْ فَوشْنِدِمْ
shuma	*buzur'deh*	*burwādeh*	*fōshnideh*
	شُمَهْ بُزُرْده	شُمَهْ بُرْوادَهْ	شُمَهْ فَوشْنِدِه
shen	*buzur'din*	*burwādin*	*fōshnidin*
	شَنْ بُزُرْدِنْ	شَنْ بُرْوادِنْ	شَنْ فَوشْنِدِنْ

The present tense of the same forms :—

meh	*bizainum*	مَـه بِزَيْنُم	*turwa'um*	تُروَأُم	*tafōshnum*	تَفَوشْنُمْ
to	*bizainī*	تو بِزَيْنِي	*turwa'i*	تُروَاي	*tafōshni*	تَفَوشْنِي
yeh	*bizaina*	يَهْ بِزَيْنَه	*turwa'a*	تُرواه	*tafōshna*	تَفَوشْنَهْ
mah	*bizainim*	مَه بِزَيْنِم	*turwa'im*	تُروَائِم	*tafōshnim*	تَفَوشْنِمْ
shuma	*bizaineh*	شُمَهْ بِزَينَهْ	*turwa'eh*	تُروَأه	*tafōshneh*	تَفَوشْنَه
shen	*bizainin*	شَن بِزَيْنِنْ	*turwa'in*	تُروَأن	*tafōshnin*	تَفَوشْنِنْ

In (III) an aspirate ه is sometimes substituted for the *hamza* ء.

Verbs of form (II) e.g. " he understood ".

Verbs of form (IV) e.g. " he ate ", " he arrived ".

The negative both for verb and adjective is formed by the suffix *na* نا.

There are no verbs "to be" and "to have", e.g. :—

I shall not ask	*meh suwāltikum' na*	مَه سُوالتِكُم نا
He has not struck	*yeh buzur'dish na*	يَه بُزُردِش نا
This is heavy	*ān sangīya*	اَن سَنگِيَه
This is not heavy	*ān sangīya na*	اَن سَنگِيَه نا

As in Arabic the equivalent of the verb "to have" takes the form of "with" followed by the prenominal suffix. Thus :—

I have = with me	*wā'meh*	وَامه
Thou hast = with you	*wā'to*	وَاتو
He has = with him or her	*wā'yeh*	وَايه
We have = with us	*wā'mah*	وَامه
You have = with you	*wā'shumah'*	وَاشُمَه
They have = with them	*wā'shen*	وَاشِن

The following are a few simple sentences in Kumzāri :—
"The big ship arrived before morning."

jahā'zō	*gō'pō*	*gubail*	*ṣābaḥ*	*hāmed*
The ship	the big	before	morning	arrived

جَهَازُو گوَ بو گُبَيل صَابَح هَامَد

"The small man left yesterday."

murt'kō	*chi'kō*	*dūsh'īn*	*reft*
The man	the small	yesterday	left

مُرتكو چِكو دُوشِين رفت

"A small man is not fat."

murt'keh | *chi'keh* | *sakhte* | *nā* |

A man | a small | fat | not |

مُرْتــكَه چِكَهْ سَخْتَه نَـا

"The big woman left yesterday."

zan'kō | *gō'pō* | *dūsh'īn* | *reft* |

The woman | the big | yesterday | left |

زنكَو گوپَو دُوشِين رَفْتْ

"The big women left yesterday."

zan'ken | *gā'pan* | *dūsh'īn* | *ref'tin* |

The women | the big | yesterday | left |

زَنْـكَنْ گَاپَن دُوشِيْن رَفْتِن

"A big woman died yesterday."

zan'keh | *gay'peh* | *dūsh'īn* | *murd* |

A woman | a big | yesterday | died |

زَنْـكَه گَيْپَه دُوشين مُرْدْ

"A handsome man fell from the house."

murt'keh | *juwāneh* | *kuft* | *peh* | *khān'ōgō* |

A man | a handsome | fell | from | the house |

مُرْتكَه جُوَانَه كُفْتْ پَه خَـانوگو

"A beautiful woman fell from a house."

zan'keh | *juwān'eh* | *kuft* | *peh* | *khān'ugeh* |

A woman | a beautiful | fell | from | a house |

زَنْـكَه جُوانه كُفْتْ پَه خانـگَهْ

"The handsome man fell from my house."

murt'kō	*juwā'nō*	*kuft*	*peh*	*khān'meh*
The man	the handsome	fell	from	my house

مُرتکو جُوانو کُفتْ بَه خَانمَهْ

"The beautiful woman fell from her house."

zan'kō	*juwāno*	*kuft*	*peh*	*khāniyeh'*
The woman	the beautiful	fell	from	her house

زَنکَو جوَانو کُفتْ بِه خَانِیَهْ

"If you do not eat you will die."

kā	*tō*	*itkō'rī*	*nā*	*tim'iri*
If	you	eat	not	you will die

کَا تو إِتکوِرِي نَا تمِيرِيْ

"The Wazir is strong."

wazī'rō	*qū'wet*	*in'dī*
The Wazir	strength	in

وَزِيرو قُوَتّ إِندِي

"Falsehood or truth."

dūrogh	*wa'lā*	*rās'ti*
Falsehood	or	truth

دورَوغ وَلاَ رَاسِتِيْ

"I asked you."

meh	*suwāl*	*tō*	*gi'dum*
I	ask	you	made to

مَه سُوأل تو گِدُمْ

"I and he together."

meh	*wa*	*yeh*	*wa'un'gar*
I	and	he	together

مَـه وَ يَه وَانـگَرْ

"I want to strike."

tātum	*bazainum*
I want	I strike

تاتُم بَزَينُم

"He struck me."

yeh	*buzur'dish meh*
He	struck me

يه بُزُردش مَـه

"I sold firewood yesterday."

meh	*dūsh'īn*	*hay'magh*	*fōsh'nidum*
I	yesterday	firewood	sold

مَـهْ دُوشِين هَيْمَـغ فوشِنِدُمْ

"I will buy firewood to-morrow morning."

meh	*nuwāz ṣābaḥ*	*hay'magh*	*takhairum*
I	to-morrow morning	firewood	will buy

مَـهْ نُوَاز صَابَح هَيْمَـغْ تَخَيرُمْ

"Good morning."

chābetna	*ṣabaḥ*	*burī*
How are you (?)	morning	good

چَابَتنَا صَابَح بُري

"Good evening."

chabetna	*mes'iya*	*buri*
How are you (?)	evening	good

چَابَتنَا مَسِيَا بُري

KUMZARI VOCABULARY

1. The system of transliteration employed has been that of the Royal Asiatic Society with the following modifications:

ض I have used <u>dh</u> not ḍ, as the local sound value would thus seem best represented.

ظ I have used <u>dh</u> not ẓ for the same reason.

ة' when final has been transliterated "ah" or "eh" according to the sound value of the vowel and because there is a suspicion that the ة is not silent.

أو I have used *o* when it represented the English value, and *au* when it had the diphthong sound *ow*.

أي = *ay* as in "hay" or *ai* as in "Kaiser" according to sound value.

The *fatḥa* has been transliterated *a* or *e* in accordance with its sound value.

2. Here and there the definite article *o* has been left appended to the noun. The reason in such case. that the word is scarcely ever met with except in this form, e.g. (the) moon, (the) heavens, (the) sun.

3. As regards the words themselves, it may be observed that war terms, e.g. castle, dagger, tower, flight, spear, are of Arabic derivation. The word for spear قين would appear to be derived from the word قنا, no longer in use in local colloquial Arabic. Oddments of neighbouring Omani tribes still carry the spear, but invariably call it رمح *rumḥ*. The Kumzāri word for sword is an exception to the above rule.

4. In the remarks column K. = Kumzāri.

K.	= Kumzāri.
Ar.	= Arabic.
P.	= Persian.
P.G.D.	= Persian (Persian Gulf Dialect).
(coll.)	= colloquial.

Kumzāri Dialect of the Shiḥuḥ Tribe, Oman–Arabia

English.	Kumzāri in Latin Character.	Kumzāri in Arabic Character.	Remarks, whence derived.	
"A"				
abandoned he	*weshtish*	وَشتِشْ	P.G.D.	هِشتِش
able he was	*raidish*	رَيْدِش		
above	*baleh*	بَاله	P.	بَالا
abuse	*dishmal*	دِشمَلْ	P.	دُشنَام
afrit	*afrit*	أفرِيتْ	Ar.	عِفرِيت
after	*paiyeh*	پَيَّهْ	P.	پِي
afternoon	*pishtu*	پِشتُو		
air	*kol*	كَوَل		
always	*dom*	دوم	Ar.	دائمًا
anchor	*lungail*	لُنگَيْلْ	possibly Arabo-Portuguese.	
anchored he	*sodish*	سَوْدِشْ		
animal	*haiwan*	حَيْوَنْ	Ar.	حيوان
and	*wa*	و	Ar.	و
anger	*zur*	زُوْر		

English.	Kumzāri in Latin Character.	Kumzāri in Arabic Character.	Remarks, whence derived.	
angry he was	zur gudish	زُورْ گُدِشْ		
arms	slah	سلاَحْ	Ar.	سِلاح
arrived he	raisid	رَيْسِدْ	P.	رَسيد
as	incheh	أَنْچَهْ	P. (?)	چُونْكِهِ
ask (imp.)	suwāl'kin (s.)	سُوْآلْ كِنْ	P. and Ar.	سؤال كردن
	suwāl'kai (pl.)	سُوْآلْ كَيْ		(كردند)
asked he	suwāl gi'dish	سُوْآلْ گِدِ ش	P. and Ar.	
ate he	khōr	خَوْرْ	P.	خُرْد
autumn	sher'imah	شيْرِمَهْ		
axe	yurz	يُرْزْ	P.G.D. palm-frond, P. mace	گُرز
"B"				
back	kāmar	كَامَرْ	P.	كَمَرْ
bad	ban'jeh	بَنْجَهْ		
badu	kōy	كَوْيْ	P. mountaineer	كوهي
baisari	baysarī	بَيْسَرِي	Ar.	بيسر
barber	ḥissayn	حِسَّيْنْ		محسّن
barley	jah	جَهْ	P.	جو

English.	Kumzâri in Latin Character.	Kumzâri in Arabic Character.	Remarks, whence derived.	
basket	*zumbil*	زُمْبِيلْ	Ar.	زمبيل
bastard	*wet ḥārameh*	وَتْ حَارَمَهْ	Ar.	ولدحرام
bat	*ṭair harmain*	طَيْر هَرْمَايِنْ		
beach	*chāf*	چَافْ		
beard	*rīsh*	رِيْشْ	P.	ريش
because	*biseb'*	بِسَبْ	Ar.	بسبب
before	*tay'ghur*	تَيْغُرْ		
began he	*bidi'yah gi'dish*	بِدِيَهْ گِدِشْ		
belly	*shukum*	شُكُمْ	P.	شكم
below	*zīrin*	زِيْرِنْ	P.	زير
big	*gayp*	گَيْبْ	P.G.D.	گپ
bird	*ṭayr*	طَيْرْ	Ar.	طير
bit he	*kha'adish*	خَأَدِشْ		
black	*siy'eh*	سِيَهْ	P.	سياه
blanket	*kafays*	كَفَيْسْ	Ar.	كفاس (swaddling clothes)
blind	*kōr*	كُوْرْ	P.	كور

English.	Kumzāri in Latin Character.	Kumzāri in Arabic Character.	Remarks, whence derived.	
blood	*khūwaym*	خُوَيْمْ	P.	خون
			P.G.D.	خين
blue	*ziraq*	زِرَقْ	Ar.	أزرق
bone	*khār*	خَارْ	P.	خار
book	*kitāb*	كِتَابْ	Ar.	كتاب
born	*zāseh*	زَاسَهْ	P. (?)	زائيده
bought he	*khayridish*	خَيْرِدِشْ	P.	خريد
boy	*rōk*	رَوْكْ	P.G.D.	چوك
brackish	*sōrin*	سَوْرِنْ	P.G.D.	سور
branch	*shāghat* or	شَاغَتْ	P.	شاخه
	ruk'in	رُكِنْ		
brass	*shi'beh*	شِبَهْ	Ar.	شبه
brave	*mard*	مَرْدْ	P. manly ?	
brazier	*kuwār*	كُوَارْ	Ar.	كير
breakfast	*nashta*	نَاشْتَا	P.	ناشتا
breast	*sīnō*	سِينُوْ	P.	سينه

English.	Kumzāri in Latin Character.	Kumzāri in Arabic Character.	Remarks, whence derived.	
bring (imp.)	*biyaiy*	بیاٰیی	P.	بیاور
			P.G.D.	بیار
brought he	*wādish*	وَادِشْ		
but	*lākin*	لِكَنْ	Ar.	لكن
butter	*zib'deh*	زِبْدَهْ	Ar.	زبد
by (in)	*nakhā*	نَخَا		
"C"				
camel (bull)	*jāmel*	جَامَل	Ar.	جَمَلَ
camel (cow)	*nāgah*	نَاگَهْ	Ar.	ناقه
caravan	*kāfileh*	كَافِلَهْ	Ar.	قافله
castle	*kāleh*	كَالَهْ	Ar.	قلعه
cat	*gurbagh*	گُرْبَغْ	P.	گربه
cave	*gaud*	گَوْدْ		
cheap	*ur'zen*	أُرْزَنْ	P.G.D.	أرزون
			P.	أرزان
cheek	*khish*	خِشْ		
chicken	*murau*	مُرَوْ	P.	مُرغ

English.	Kumzāri in Latin Character.	Kumzāri in Arabic Character.	Remarks, whence derived.	
child	*rōk* (m.)	رَوْكْ	P.G.D.	چوك
	ditk (f.)	دِتْكْ	P.	دخت
Christian	*naṣrā'nī*	نَصْرَانِي	Ar.	نصراني
clean	*pāk*	پَاكْ	P.	پاك
closed	*hab'niseh*	هَبْنِسَهْ		
cloth	*khaylaq*	خَيْلَقْ	Ar.	خلق
cloud	*nim*	نِمْ	Ar. (?) "Divine favour," "blessing."	نعمى نِعمه
			P. dew	نم
club (axe)	*yurz* or	يُرْزْ	P.G.D. palm-frond	
	gurz	گُرْزْ	P. mace	گرز
coffin	*na'ish*	نَائِشْ	Ar.	نعش
cold	*sard*	سَرْدْ	P.	سرد
colour	*rang*	رَنْگْ	P.	رنگ
come (imp.)	*bīyō*	بِيَوْ	P.G.D.	بيو
			P.	بيا

English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
came	*hāmed*	هَـامَدْ	P.	اومد آمد
confusion	*rab'sheh*	رَبْشَـهْ		
copper	*ṣifr*	صِفرْ	Ar.	صفر
corpse	*mīyit*	ميّتْ	Ar.	ميت
crooked	*aug*	أَوْگْ	Ar.	اعوج
crops	*zer'en*	زَرأَنْ	Ar.	زرع
cultivator (gardener)	*bīdār*	بِيدَارْ	Ar.	بيزار
cup	*finjān* or	فِنْجَانْ	Ar.	فنجان
	finjāl	فِنْجَالْ		
curds	*raybīn*	رَيْبِينْ	Ar.	مُربب
cut (imp.)	*qaṣai'kin* (s.)	قَصَيْكِنْ	Ar.	قص
	qaṣakai (pl.)	قَصَكَيْ		
cut he	*qaṣai'gu'dish*	قَصَيْگُدِشْ	Ar.	قص

"D"

dagger	*khan'jar*	خَـنْجَرْ	Ar.	خنجر

English.	Kumzāri in Latin Character.	Kumzāri in Arabic Character.	Remarks, whence derived.	
date palm	*mugh*	مُغ	P.	مغ
dates	*hur'meh*	هُرْمَهْ	P.	خُرْما
daughter	*ditk*	دِتْكْ	P.	دُخت
daylight	*nūr*	نُوْرْ	Ar.	نور
days of week:				
Saturday	*sebt*	سَبْتْ	Ar.	ألسبت
Sunday	*ḥad*	حَدْ	Ar.	الاحد
Monday	*du<u>sh</u>am'bur*	دُشَمْبُرْ	P.	دوشنبه
Tuesday	*<u>sh</u>u<u>sh</u>am'bur*	شُشَمْبُرْ	P.	سهشنبه
Wednesday	*<u>ch</u>ar<u>sh</u>am'bur*	چَارْشَمْبُرْ	P.	چارشنبه
Thursday	*pan<u>sh</u><u>sh</u>am'bur*	پَنْشْشَمْبُرْ	P.	پنج شنبه
Friday	*jumāt*	جُمَاتْ	Ar.	الجمعه
daywi (spirit, a)	*daywī*	دَيْوِيْ	P.	ديو
deaf	*iṣali*	إِصلِيْ		
dear	*grān*	گَرَانْ	P.	گران
deep	*<u>gh</u>izir*	غِزِرْ	Ar.	غزر
dhow	*dādro*	دَاذْرَوْ		

English.	Kumzāri in Latin Character.	Kumzāri in Arabic Character.	Remarks, whence derived.	
died he	*murd*	مُرْدْ	P.	مرد
difficult	*ṣa'beh*	صَعْبَهْ	Ar.	صعب
dirt	*gil*	گِلْ	P.	گـل
disease	*bīmar*	بِيمَرْ	P.	بيماري
doctor	*tay'bib* or	طَيْبِبْ	Ar.	طبيب
	dokh'tur	دُخْتُرْ		
dog	*sōgh*	سوغ	P.	سگ
donkey	*khōr*	خَوْرْ	P.	خَر
door	*dōr*	دَوْرْ	P.	دَرْ
drank he	*khōrdish*	خَوْرْدِشْ	P.G.D.	خورد
drink (imp.)	*khōr*	خَوْرْ	P.G.D.	خُـر
drought	*māḥal*	مَحَـلْ	Ar.	محـل
dry	*hishk*	هِشْكْ	P.	خُشْكْ
dug he	*tikayna*	تِكَيْنَا		
dwelt he	*nisht*	نِشْتْ	P.	نِشَستْ

"E"

ear	*gōsh*	گوش	P.	گَوْشْ

English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
early	*zāmeh*	زَامَـهْ		
earring	*tambūl*	تَمبُوْلْ		
earth (the)	*zamiyō*	زَمِيُوْ	P.	زمين
east	*iqil*	إقِلْ		
east wind	*kōshī*	كَوْشِيْ	Ar. (coll.)	گوْسْ
easy	*seheleh*	سَهْلَهْ	Ar.	سهل
eat (imp.)	*khōr*	خَوْرْ		
egg	*khaig*	خَايَكْ	P.G.D.	خاگ
empty	*rayzagh*	رَيْزَغْ		
enemy	*khayṣim*	خَيْصِمْ	Ar.	خصم
evil	*sharr*	شَرّ	Ar.	شر
eye	*chōm*	چَوْمْ	P. (?)	چشم
eyebrow	*hayjib*	حَيْجِبْ	Ar.	حاجب

"F"

face	*rau*	رَوْ	P.	رُو
falsehood	*durūgh*	دُرُوغْ	P.	دروغ
family	*rōren*	رَوْرَنْ		

English.	Kumzāri in Latin Character.	Kumzāri in Arabic Character.	Remarks, whence derived.	
far	*dūr*	دُوْرْ	P.	دور
father	*bap*	بَپْ	P.	باپ
fear	*turus*	تُرُسْ	P.	تَرْسْ
feared he	*tursidish*	تُرْسِدِشْ	P.	ترسید
feather	*parr*	پَرّ	P.	پَرّ
fell he	*keft*	كَفْتْ		
	kuft	كُفْتْ		
female (a.)	*zankeh*	زَنْكَهْ	P. woman	زن
fever	*tau*	تَوّ	P.	تب
			P.G.D.	تَوْ
fight (imp.)	*jung'kin* (s.)	جُنْگْ كِنْ	P.	جنگ
	jung'kai (pl.)	جُنْكْ كَيْ		
finger	*lin'kit*	لِنْكِتْ		
finished he	*khalaṣ'bur*	خَلَصْ بُوْرْ	Ar.P.	خلاص
fire	*hātish*	هَاتِشْ	P.	آتش
			P.G.D.	تش
firewood	*haymagh.*	هَيْمَغْ	P.G.D.	هیمه

English.	Kumzâri in Latin Character.	Kumzâri in Arabic Character.	Remarks, whence derived.	
fish	*mī*	ميي	P.	ماهي
fished he	*mī wādi<u>sh</u>*	ميْ وادِشْ		
fishing hook	*go'el*	گوُأل		
fishing line	*ni<u>sh</u> bil* or	نِشْبِلْ		
	barbar	بَرْبَرْ		
fishing net	*lay*	لَئِيْ	Ar. (?)	ليخ
fish spawn	*sōgah*	سَوگَهْ		
fled he	*hajabur*	هَجَّ بُرْ	Ar.	الهجاج
flower	*ward*	وَرْدْ	Ar.	ورد
food	*<u>kh</u>ōrdin*	خَوْرْدِنْ	P.	خورد
foot	*pā*	پَا	P.	پا
forehead	*ṣandoḥ*	صَنْدوَحْ		
fort	*kāleh*	كَـالَهْ	Ar.	قلعة
fought he	*jung gid'ish*	جنْـگ گِدِشْ	P.	جنگ
fox	*rayū*	رَيوْ		
friend	*ṣāḥib*	صَـاحِبْ	Ar.	صـاحب
frog	*<u>ch</u>ifrāq*	چِفْرَاقْ		

English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*
from	*peh*	پَـهْ	
"G"			
garment	*kisweh*	كِسْوَه	Ar. كسوة
gazelle	*ghāzel*	غَازَلْ	Ar. غزال
get up (imp.)	*sakhō* (s.)	سَخو	
	sayikhō (pl.)	سَيِخو	
girdle	*miḥzam*	مِحْزَمْ	Ar. مِحزَم
glass	*qalāṣ*	قَلَاصْ	
go (imp.)	*barō*	بَرو	P. برو
goat	*gos'nah*	گَوْسْنَه	
God	*Allah*	الله	Ar. الله
gold	*ukh cheh*	أُخْچَـه	K. *ukhcheh* = "money".
	sarkh	سَرْخ	P. *surkh* = red; possibly "red metal".
good	*khair*	خَيْرْ	Ar. خير
gradually	*īyeh indo īyeh* ايَهْ اِنْدَوَ اِيَهْ		
grass	*gīya*	گِيَ	P. گیاه
grave	*gayr*	گَيْرْ	P. گور

English.	*Kumzâri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzâri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
green	*sauz*	سَوْزْ	P.	سبز
			P.G.D.	سوز
"H"				
hair	*mū*	مُو	P.	مُو
hammer	*maṭ'raqeh*	مَطْرَقَه	Ar.	مطرقه
hand	*dist*	دِسْتْ	P.	دَست
happened	*bur*	بُر		
happiness	*faraḥ*	فَرَحْ	Ar.	فرح
happy	*faraḥah*	فَرَحَـه	Ar.	فِرح
harbour	*ban'dar*	بَـنْدَرْ	Ar.	بندر
he	*yeh* or *īyeh*	يَـهْ إِيَـهْ		
head	*sōr*	سَوْر	P.	سَر
headache	*sardar*	سَرْدَر	P.	سردرد
heart	*dil*	دِلْ	P.	دِلْ
heat	*gurm*	گُرْمْ	P.	گرما
heavens (the)	*asmayno*	أَسمَيْنَو	P.	آسمان
			P.G.D.	اسمون

English.	Kumzâri in Latin Character.	Kumzâri in Arabic Character.	Remarks, whence derived.	
heavy	*san'gī*	سَنْگِيْ	P.	سنگين
heel	*wagzet*	وَگْزِتْ		
hell	*hatchō*	هَاتْچُوْ		
here	*aywo* or *aiyō*	أَيْوَوه ـ آيوَ		
hole	*khabq* or	خَبْقْ		
	gambil	گمبِيلْ	Ar. (coll.)	خبق
honey	*asal*	أَسَلْ	Ar.	عسل
horn	*qarn*	قَرْنْ	Ar.	قرن
hot	*gurm*	گُرْمْ	P.	گرم
hour	*sa'at*	سَأَتْ	Ar.	ساعه
house	*khanagh*	خَانَغْ	P.	خانه
hunger	*gushnagh*	گُشْنَغْ	P.	گرسنگي
hurry	*zāmih*	زَامَهْ		
ıut (palm)	*sirkh*	سِرْخْ		
"I"				
	meh	مِهْ		
ile	*ajeza*	أَجْزَ	Ar.	عجز

English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
if	*kā*	کا		
impossible	*tobit'na* or	تَوْبِتْنَا		
	to'it'na	تَوَئِتِنَا		
in	*indī*	إِنْدِي		
infant	*rōki chik* (m.)	رَوكِي چِكْ	P.G.D.	جوك كچيك
	or *ditki chik* (f.)	دِتْكِ چِكْ		دخت كچيك
infidel	*kāfir*	كَافِرْ	Ar.	كافر
ink	*darman kitābit*	دَرْمَنْ كِتَابِتْ		
inside	*indōr*	إِنْدَوْرْ	P.	اندر
instead of	*jāga*	جَاگَا		
intelligent	*āqil*	آقِلْ	Ar.	عاقل
iron	*ḥain*	حَيْنْ	P.	آهن
island	*jayzirū*	خَيْزِرُو	Ar.	جزيرة
"J"				
Jew	*Yahūdi*	يَهُودِي	Ar.	يهودى
jinn	*jin* or *daywi*	جِنْ دِيوِيْ	Ar.	جن

English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
journey	*sāfar*	سَافَرْ	Ar.	سفر
judge	*qādhī*	قاضِيْ	Ar.	قاضي
"K"				
key	*kalīl*	كِلِيْل	P.	كليد
			P.G.D.	كليل
kind	*kayrim*	كَيْرِمْ	Ar.	كريم
kindness	*kāram*	كَارَمْ	Ar.	كرم
kiss	*būz*	بُوز	P.	بوسه
khasab	*khaṣab*	خَاصَبْ		
knife	*kard* or	كَارْدْ	P.	كارد
	bay'shak	بَيْشَك		
"L"				
lamb	*rōraghōsin*	رُوْرَغوَسِنْ		
lame	*lang*	لَنْگْ	P.	لنگ
last night	*dūshīn shō*	دُشِيْنْ شَو	P.G.D.	دوشين
			P.	ديشب
late	*akhar gi'seh* or	أَخَرْ گِسَه		
	akhar buseh	أَخَرْ بُسَه	Ar.	أخر

English.	Kumzâri in Latin Character.	Kumzâri in Arabic Character.	Remarks, whence derived.	
laughed he	*khanīdish*	خـنِیدش	P.	خندید
laughter	*khaynaghen*	خینَغَد	P.	خنده
lead	*riṣāṣ*	رِصَاصْ	Ar.	رصاص
leg	*pā*	پَا	P.	پا
letter	*khaṭ*	خَطْ	Ar.	خط
light (weight)	*suwōk*	سُوَكْ	P.	سبك
lightning	*bar'qin*	بَرْقِنْ	Ar.	برق
like	*incheh*	إِنْچَهْ	P.	چونكه
lip	*lō*	لَوْ	P.	لب
little (adj.)	*chik*	چَكْ	P.	كوچك
little (adv.)	*han'duk*	هَنْدُكْ		
lizard	*abrārah*	أَبْرَارَه		
lobster	*shangau*	شَنْگَوْ		
locust	*gārid*	گَارِدْ	Ar.	جراد
loin cloth	*jāmagh*	جَامَغْ	P.	جَامه
"M"				
mad	*gayn*	گَيْنْ	Ar.	جن مجنون

English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
made	*gi'dish*	گِدِش	P.	گرد
	(gur'dish)	گُرْدِشْ	P.G.D.	گردش
magic	*ṣaḥir*	صَحِرْ	Ar.	سحر
male	*murt'keh*	مُرْتَكَهْ	P.G.D.	مردکه
man	*murtk*	مُرْتَكْ	P.	مرد
mankind	*bin ādam*	بِنْ آدَمْ	Ar.	بنو آدم
many	*khaykeh*	خَيْكَهْ	P.	خيلي
married	*rafkhāna*	رَفْخَانَه		
mast	*dōl*	دَوْل		
mat	*hayṣir*	هَصِرْ	Ar.	حصير
match	*dārahātsh*	دَارَهَاتِشْ	Word not used in P.G.D.: but made up of "wood" and "fire".	
meat	*gōsht*	گَوشْت	P.	گوشت
medicine	*darman*	دَرْمَنْ		
merchant	*taiyir*	تَايِرْ	Ar.	تاجر
milk	*ṣayraḥ*	صَيْرَحْ	Ar.	صريح
minute	*dīqiqah*	دِيقِقَه	Ar.	دقيقه

English.	Kumzāri in Latin Character.	Kumzāri in Arabic Character.	Remarks, whence derived.	
miserly	baykhil'eh	بَيْخِلَهْ	Ar.	بخيل
money	ukh chah or	أُخْجَهْ	Persian imaginary coin. 100 = 1 kran.	غَـاز
	ghāz	غاز		
month	mai	مَـايْ	P.	ماه
moon (the)	maytāwo	مَيْتَاوَوْه	P.	مهتاب ماه
more	khayktar	خَيْكَتَرْ		
morning	ṣābaḥ	صـابح	Ar.	صبـاح
mosque	misgid	مِسْگِدْ	Ar.	مسجد
mother	mām	مام	Ar.	ام
mouse	mushki chik	مُشْكِ چِكْ	P. P.G.D.	مُشْكك موش
mountain	kō	كَو	P.	كوه
moustache	shayrib	شَيْرِبْ	Ar.	شارب
mouth	kār	كار		
mud	gil	گِلْ	P.	گِل

English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
"N"				
nail	*mismār*	مِسْمَارْ	Ar.	مسمار
nail (finger)	*ni<u>kh</u>in*	نِخِنْ	P.	ناخن
naked	*tanpīdarītī*	تَنْپِیدَرِیتِی	P. *tan* = "body". P. *bi* = "without". Presumably *dariti* = "clothes".	
near	*nayzik*	نَیزِكْ	P.G.D.	نزيك نزديك
necessary	*lāzim*	لَازِمْ	Ar.	لازم
neck	*gurdin*	گُرْدِنْ	P.	گردن
needle	*sūzin*	سُوزِنْ	P.	سوزن
new	*nō*	نَوْ	P.	نو
news	*<u>kh</u>abiren*	خَبِرَنْ	Ar.	اخبار
night	*<u>sh</u>ō*	شَوْ	P.	شو شب
no	*a'a* or *nā*	أأ ، نَا	*a'a* Ar. (coll.), *na* P.	
noise	*ṣaut*	صَوْت	Ar.	صوت
none	*i<u>ch</u>ineh*	اِچِنَهْ		

English.	Kumzāri in Latin Character.	Kumzāri in Arabic Character.	Remarks, whence derived.	
noon	*pīshin*	پِيشِنْ		
north	*ga'o*	گَـا أَو		
north star (the)	*ga'ō*	گَـا أُو		
north wind	*gāhiyeh* or	گَا هَيَه		
	yāhī	يَا هِيْ		
nose	*nōkharet*	نُوخَرَتْ	Ar.	نُخره منخره
nostril	*khabq*	خَبْقْ	Ar. (coll.)	خَبق
not	*nā*	نَا	P.	نَه
nothing	*ichnah*	إِچْنَه		
now	*sa'teh*	سَاأْتَهْ	Ar.	الساعه
nut	*gōz*	گَوَزْ	Ar.	جوز
Numbers :—				
1	*yek*	يَك	P.	يك
2	*doh*	دوه	P.	دو
3	*soh*	سَوه	P.	سه
4	*chār*	چَار	P.	چهار
5	*panj*	پَنْجْ	P.	پنج

English.	Kumzāri in Latin Character.	Kumzāri in Arabic Character.	Remarks, whence derived.	
6	shish	شِشْ	P.	شش
7	haf'ta	هَفْتَا	P.	هفت
8	hash'ta	هَشْتَا	P.	هشت
9	na'hata	نَہْتَا	P.	نه
10	da'hata	دَهْتَا	P.	ده
11	yaz'data	يَازْدَتَا	P.	يازده
12	duwāz'data	دُوَازْدَتَا	P.	دوازده
13	siz'data	سِزْدَتَا	P.	سزده
14	chār'data	چاردتا	P.	چهارده
15	pandhdata	پَانْظَدَتَا	P.	پانزده
16	shandhdata	شَانْظَدَتَا	P.	شانزده
17	af'data	أَفْدَتَا	P.	هفده
18	aidata	أَيْدَتَا	P.	هيجده
19	nōzdata	نَوْزَدَتَا	P.	نوزده
20	bīsta	بِيْسْتَا	P.	بيست
30	sīta	سِيْتَا	P.	سى
40	chel'ta	چِلْتَا	P.	چهل

English.	Kumzāri in Latin Character.	Kumzāri in Arabic Character.	Remarks, whence derived.	
50	*pan'jata*	پَنْچَتَا	P.	بنچاه
60	*s͟his'ta*	شِسْتَا	P.	شصت
70	*haf'tata*	هَفْتَاتَا	P.	هفتاد
80	*has͟h'tata*	هَشْتَاتَا	P.	هشتاد
90	*nōdata*	نَوْدَتَا	P.	نود
100	*ṣu'ṭata*	صَطْتَا	P.	صد
200	*duwais'ta*	دُوِيْسَتَا	P.	دويست
300	*saisatta*	سَيْسَتَا	P.	سيصد
1000	*hāzaratta*	هَازَرْتَا	P.	هزار
"O"				
obeyed he	*ṭayu gu'dish*	طَئُ گُدِش	Ar.	طاعه
offspring	*rōr*	رَوْر		
often	*bārabāra*	بارَبَارَ		
old man	*korkhudā*	كَرْخُدَا	P. leader or chief	كتخدا
onion	*pīmah*	پِيمَهْ		
open	*wākiseh*	وَاكِسَه		
or	*walā*	وَلاَ	Ar. (coll.)	ولا

English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
orphan	*laytimah*	لَيتِمَه	Ar.	يتيم
oyster	*maḥār*	مَحَار	Ar.	محار
"P"				
pain	*dur*	دُر	P.	درد
paper	*kāghurd*	كَاغُرْدْ	Ar.	كاغد
pardon	*ōfu*	أوفوْ	Ar.	عفو
pass (mountain)	*aqabah*	اَقَبَهْ	Ar.	عقبه
peace	*ṣulḥ*	صُلْحْ	Ar.	صلح
pearl	*jō'r*	جَوْرْ	Ar.	جوهر
pen	*qālem*	قَالَمْ	Ar.	قلم
penis	*kayr*	كَيْر	P.	كير
people	*ād'emī*	آدمي	Ar.	آدمي
perfume	*urf*	أرْفْ	Ar.	عرف
place	*jāga*	جَاگَا	P.	جا
rain	*bīḥ*	بِيح	Ar. coll. (Shihuh)	بيح
plaster	*nūra*	نُورَى	Ar. (coll.)	نورى

English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
played he	*bāz gu'dish*	بَازْ گُدِشْ	P.	بازي كرد
plenty	*khayleh*	خَيْلَهْ	P.	خيلي
plough	*hays*	هَيْسْ	P.	خيش
pool	*burkah*	بُرْكَهْ	Ar.	بركه
poor man	*buzā*	بُزَا	P.G.D.	بزّه
pot cooking	*qizān*	قِزَانْ	Turkish	قزان
pottery	*jaḥlah*	جَحْلَهْ	Ar. (coll.)	جحله
prawn	*rubiyān*	رُبْيَانْ	Ar. (coll.)	ربيان
pray	*nuwāz*	نُوَازْ	P.	نواز
present	*aywum*	أَيْوَمْ		
present (gift)	*lik*	لِكْ		
pretty	*shīrin*	شِيرِنْ	P.	شيرين
price	*qīmet*	قِيمَتْ	Ar.	قيمة
prison	*ḥabas*	حَبَسْ	Ar.	حبس
prophet	*nebī*	نَبِيْ	Ar.	نبي
purse	*kīs*	كِيسْ	Ar.	كيس

English.	Kumzâri in Latin Character.	Kumzâri in Arabic Character.	Remarks, whence derived.	
"Q"				
quarrelled he	*zuwandās*	زوان دَاسْ		
quickly	*zāmeh*	زَامَـهْ		
"R"				
rain	*bāram*	بَـارَمْ	P.G.D.	بارون
			P.	باران
rainbow	*qindhahā*	قِنْضَحَـا		
ran he	*burwad* or	بُرْوَدْ		
	burwadish	بُرْوَدِشْ		
rat	*mishk*	مِشْـكْ	P.	مشکك
raw	*tāzagh*	تَازَغْ	P. "fresh"	تازه
razor	*setaragh*	سَتَرَغْ	P.	استره
reaped he	*gedeh gi'dish*	گَدَهْ گِيدِش		
red	*sirkh*	سِرْخْ	P.	سُرخ
rest	*rayahah*	رَيْحَـهْ	Ar.	راحه
rest (imp.)	*hūni* (s.)	هُوْنِيْ		
	hūnīyeh (pl.)	هُوْنِيَـهْ		
ring (jewellery)	*gister*	گِسْتَرْ	P.	انگشتر

English.	Kumzāri in Latin Character.	Kumzāri in Arabic Character.	Remarks, whence derived.	
ripe	*bāligh*	بَالِغ	Ar.	بالغ
river (valley)	*waidī*	وَيْدِيْ	Ar.	وادي
road	*tayra*	تَيْرَ	Ar.	طريق ؟
rock (sea)	*ayr*	أَيْرَ		
rock (land)	*burd*	بُرْدْ	P.G.D. "stone"	برد
rode he	*rukubu gi'dish*	رُكُبُ گِدِشْ	Ar.	ركب
room	*ghulafah* or *ghurafah*	غُلَفَهْ غُرَفَهْ	Ar.	غرفه
root	*irq*	إِرْقْ	Ar.	عرق
rope	*bayn*	بَيْنْ	P.	بند
rowing boat	*mashūwah*	مَاشُوَّه	P.G.D.	ماشوه
rug	*na't*	نَأْتْ	Ar.	نطع
"S"				
saddle	*shidād*	شِدَاد	Ar.	شداد
sail	*ōzar*	أوْزَر		
salt	*khūwah*	خُوَّهْ		
sand	*dīrī*	دِيْرِي		

English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
sat he	*nishta*	نِشْتَا	P.	نشته
Satan	*Shaytān'*	شَيْطَانْ	Ar.	شيطان
savage	*ko'ī*	كُوْيْ	P. "mountaineer"	كوهي
scarce	*han'duk*	هَنْدُكْ		
sea (the)	*derīyō*	دَرْيَوْ	P.	دريا
seaweed	*khal'en*	خَلْئِنْ		
seal	*mahr*	مَهْرْ	Ar.	مَهْر
seed	*baidar*	بَيْدَرْ	Ar.	بذر
sell (imp.)	*fōshin* (s.)	فَوْشِنْ		
	fōshinah (pl.)	فَوْشِنَهْ		
servant	*bishkār'*	بِشْكَارْ	P.	پيشكار
shaikh	*shaikh*	شَيْخْ	Ar.	شيخ
shallow	*riqq*	رِقّ	Ar.	رق
shark	*kūlī*	كُوْلِي		
shaved he	*san'dish*	سَانْدِشْ		
she	*yeh* or *īyeh*	يَهْ إِيَهْ		
sheep	*ghōsan*	غَوسَنْ	P. (?)	گوسفند

English.	Kumzāri in Latin Character.	Kumzāri in Arabic Character.	Remarks, whence derived.	
ship	*jehāz*	جَهَازْ	P.G.D.	جهاز
shirt	*khāti*	خَاتِيْ		
shoulder	*kitf*	كِتْفْ	Ar.	كتف
shrine (a)	*ziyāreh*	زِيارَهْ	Ar.	زيارة
sickle	*dās*	دَاسْ	P.	داس
sickness	*khūsh nā*	خُوشْنَا	P. not well	ناخوش
silver	*ukhchah sipīreh*	أُخچَهْ سِپِيرَه	P. white with *ukhcheh* money. Possibly white metal money.	سپید
sit down	*hūnī* (s.)	هُونِي		
	hūnīyeh (pl.)	هُونِيَه		
skin	*pōst*	پَوْستْ	P.	پوست
sky (the)	*asmay'nō*	أَسْمَينوَ	P.	آسمان
			P.G.D.	آسمون
slave	*zangair*	زَنَگَيرْ	Ar. (Zanzibar)	زنجی
sleep (imp.)	*khuwōw* (s.)	خُوو	P. (not imperative)	خواب
	khuwōwai (pl.)	خُووِي	P.G.D.	خت
slept he	*khuwas'tah*	خُوَسْتَه	P. (?)	خفته

English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
slowly	*han'duk han'duk*	هَنْدُكْ هَنْدُكْ		
small	*chik*	چِكْ	P.	کوچك
smallpox	*gid'irī*	گِدْرِيْ	Ar.	جدري
smoke	*dūr*	دُوْرْ	P. (?)	دود
smoked he	*kayshidish*	كَيْشِيدِشْ	P.	كشيد
snake	*mār*	مَارْ	P.	مار
sold he	*fōshni'dish* or	فُوْشْنِدِشْ		
	fōshnir'dish	فُوْشْنِرْدِشْ		
soldier	*asker*	أَسْكَرْ	Ar.	عسكر
solid	*jemed*	جَمَدْ	Ar.	جامد
son	*pas*	پَسْ	P. (?)	پسر
sorrow	*ḥazen*	حَزَنْ	Ar.	حزن
south	*sayil*	سَيَلْ	Ar., possibly from star *suhail*	سهيل
south wind	*say'lī*	سَيْلِي	Ditto	سهيلي
sowed he	*kash'idish*	كَاشِدِشْ	P.	كاشت
sparrow	*ṣafṣūf*	صَفْصُوفَ	Ar. ?	صفصف
spear	*qayn*	قَيْنْ	Ar.	قنا

English.	*Kumzāri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzāri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
spoke he	*mejeme gi'dish*	مَجَمْ كِدِشْ		
spoon	*quf'sheh*	قفشَه	Ar. (coll.)	قفشه
spring (season)	*jōweh*	جُوَه		
spring (water)	*chōm*	چوَمْ	P. (?)	چشمه
stand up	*qawumah* or	قَوُمَه	Ar.	قيام
	sakhō	سَخَو		
star	*starg*	سَتَرَكْ	P.	ستارة
steamer	*jihāz* or *jehāz*	جَهَازْ	P.G.D.	جَهاز
stick	*bākūr*	بَاكُورْ		
stone	*raygh*	رَيْغ	P. (?) "sand"	ريگ
storm	*shartagh*	شَرْتَغْ	Ar. (coll.)	شرته
straight	*aydil*	أَيذَلْ	Ar.	عَدل
strength	*qūwah*	قُوَّه	Ar.	قوه
strike (imp.)	*bi'zen* (s.)	بِزَنْ	P.	بِزن
	bizainah (pl.)	بِزَينَهْ		
struck he	*buzūr'dish*	بُزُرْدِشْ		
sugar cane	*qab shākir*	قَبْ شَاكِرْه	P.	قاب شكر

English.	Kumzāri in Latin Character.	Kumzāri in Arabic Character.	Remarks, whence derived.	
Sultan (the)	*sulṭānō*	سُلْطَانو	Ar.	سلطان
summer	*hāmīn*	هَامِينْ		
sun (the)	*intāfō'*	إِنْتَافو	P. (?)	افتاب
sunrise	*intafeh taybala*	إِنْتَافَتْيبالاَ		
sunset	*bungō*	بُنْگو	P.	بانگ
			Muadhdhin's call to prayer.	
swam he	*shinau gi'dish*	شِنَاو گِدِشْ	P.G.D.	شناو کرد
sweat	*araq*	أَرَقْ	Ar.	عرق
sword	*shamshīr*	شَمْشِيرْ	P.	شمشير
"T"				
teeth	*dinān*	دِنَانْ	P.	دندان
that	*ān*	أَنْ	P.	آن
them	*shen*	شَنْ		
there	*anso*	أَنْسَوْ	P.	آنجا
			P.G.D. (nasal *n*)	انسو
these	*ya'an*	يَاأَنْ		
they	*shan* or *shen*	شَانْ شَنْ	P.	ايشان

English.	Kumzārī in Latin Character.	Kumzārī in Arabic Character.	Remarks, whence derived.	
thigh	*fakhat*	فَخَتْ	Ar.	فخذ
thing	*chīz*	چِيزْ	P.	چيز
thirst	*chaynagh*	چَيْنَغ		
this	*īyah*	إِيَه		
thorn	*khār*	خَار	P.	خار
those	*ānanah*	أَنَه نَه	P.	آنها
thou	*tō*	تَو	P.	تو
thunder	*ra'ad*	رَأْد	Ar.	رعد
thus	*incheh*	إِنچِهْ		
to	*ḥatta*	حَتّىٰ	Ar.	حتى
to-day	*rōzō*	رَوزَوَ	P.	امروز
together	*wa'ungur*	وَأُنگُرْ	P.G.D.	واهديگر
to-morrow	*nuwāz ṣabaḥ*	نُواز صَبَحْ	P.G.D. "Morning" used for "to-morrow"	صبا
tongue	*zuwān*	زُوَانْ	P.	زبان
took he	*gi'dish*	گِدِشْ		
tower	*burj*	بُرْجْ	Ar.	برج

English.	Kumzāri in Latin Character.	Kumzāri in Arabic Character.	Remarks, whence derived.	
town	*wilaiyah*	وِلَايَهْ	Ar.	ولايه
tree	*shidreh*	شِدرَهْ	Ar.	شجره
tribe	*qay'bileh*	قَيْبِلَه	Ar.	قبيله
truth	*rāstī*	رَاسْتِي	P.	راستي
"U"				
ugly	*bunj*	بُنْج		
umm sabiyan	*umm saby'ah*	أم صَبْيَه	Ar.	ام صبيان
umm zar	*mām zār*	مام زَارْ	Ar.	ام زار
understand	*danadish*	دَانَدِشْ		
"V"				
vessel (craft)	*dādar*	دَادَر		
Venus	*za'harah*	زَهْرَهْ	Ar.	زهرة
village	*walaiyah chik*	وَلَايَة چِك	A.P.	
virgin	*bi'kreh*	بِكْرَهْ	Ar.	بكر
"W"				
walked he	*maysh gid'ish*	مَيْشْ كِدِشْ	Ar.	مشي
wall	*hāwī*	حَاوِيْ	Ar.	حوي
wanted he	*watidish*	وَاتِدِشْ		

English.	*Kumzâri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzâri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
war	*jung*	جنگ	P.	جنگ
war cry	*ne'debeh*	ندبه	Ar.	ندبه
wash (imp.)	*chōr* (s.)	چور	P.	شور
	chōrai (pl.)	چوریه		
washed he	*chistish*	چستش	P.	شست
water	*hau*	هاو	P. P.G.D.	اب أو
waves	*bārm*	بارم		
we	*mah*	مه	P.	ما
weakness	*ta'if*	طئف	Ar.	ضعف
wealth	*pāchā*	پاچا		
well a (water)	*chō*	چو	P.	چاه
went	*reft*	رفت	P.	رفت
west	*ghushben*	غشبن		
west wind	*ōferen*	أوفرن	Ar. ? possibly associated with عفر "dust".	
whale	*shauhat*	شوحط		

English.	*Kumzâri in Latin Character.*	*Kumzâri in Arabic Character.*	*Remarks, whence derived.*	
wheat	*gaynum*	گَيْنُمْ	P.	گَنْدُمْ
			P.G.D.	گَنْدُمْ
when	*kayī*	كَيْ	P.G.D.	كي
where	*gāyā*	گَيَا		
which	*kāram*	كَارَمْ		
whisper	*nej'weh*	نَجْوَهْ	Ar.	نجوه
white	*spīr*	سِپِيرْ	P. (?)	سفيد
whole	*hamū*	هَمُوْ	P.	همه
why	*chambō*	چَمْبُوْ		
widow	*tarīkeh*	تَرِيكَةْ	Ar.	تريكه
wife	*zank*	زَنْك	P.	زن
			P.G.D.	زنك
window, small	*rōzen*	رَوْزَنْ	P.	روزن
window, large	*darīsh*	دَرِيشْ	P.	دريچه
winter	*dimestān*	دَمْسْتَانْ	P.	زمستان

English.	Kumzâri in Latin Character.	Kumzâri in Arabic Character.	Remarks, whence derived.	
with	*wāh*	وَاه	P.G.D.	وا
			P.	يا
without	*bāghā*	بَاغَـا	Ar. ?	بغير
woman	*zank*	زَنْكْ	P.	زن
			P.G.D.	زنك
wood	*dār*	دَار	P.G.D.	دار
work	*kār*	كار	P.	كار
work (imp.)	*kārkin* (s.)	كَاْرکِنْ	P. ditto	
	kārkai (pl.)	كَاْزكَيْ		
worked he	*kārgi'dish*	كارگِدِشْ	P. ditto	
wound	*awaqah*	أَوقَهْ	Ar. hindrance?	اعاقه
write (imp.)	*katabu'kin* (s.)	كَتَبُـكِنْ	Ar.	كتآبه
	katabukai (pl.)	كَتَبُكَنْ		
wrote	*katabagi'dish*	كَتَبَكِدِشْ	Ar.	كتب

"Y"

year	*sāl*	سَال	P.	سال
yellow	*zurd*	زُرْدْ	P.	زَرد

English.	Kumzāri in Latin Character.	Kumzāri in Arabic Character.	Remarks, whence derived.	
yes	*hay* or *na'am*	هَيْ نَعَم	Ar.	إيْ نعم
yesterday	*dūshīn*	دُوْشِيْن	P.G.D.	دوشين
you (sing.)	*tō*	تو	P.	تو
you (pl.)	*shumā'*	شما	P.	شما
youth	*kōrk*	كَوَرْك		
"Z"				
zar	*zār*	زَار	Ar. P.G.D.	زار
zatut	*ziti* (*zutin*)	زِطّي زُطِّين	Ar. P.G.D.	زطي

APPENDIX A

Brief note on peculiarities of the Arabic used by the interior mountain Shihuh of Musandam Peninsula (not the Arabic of the Kumāzara which is the Omani dialect):—

alif. The long *a* is pronounced as in Persian word خان, e.g.

جبال is pronounced *gabawl*, not *jibāl*.

مكان is pronounced *makawn*, not *makān*.

ذ *dhal*, ض *dhad* have a hard *d* sound (د), e.g. هذا is pronounced *haw'da*, not *hadha*. (The Shihuh value of this character is the same as the corrupt Egyptian or Palestinian value, not as the uncontaminated Badu value which resembles more the English *th* in "that".)

ث *tha* has a hard *t* sound (ت), e.g. ثلاثة is pronounced *tlaw'ta*, not *thalā'tha*, again resembling the Egyptian value and not the Oman or Najdian value which is *th* as in the English word "thanks".

و *waw* has a slight suspicion of a *v* sound, e.g. واللّه is pronounced *vallah* rather than *wallah*.

او *au* is pronounced *o* as in the Omani dialect, e.g. فوق *fōq* (not as the English diphthong *ow*).

ر *ray* is pronounced *or* as the Urdu (ڑ), thus صار sounds more like *sor* than *sar*.

ج *jim* is pronounced *g* if the initial radical and generally *y* if the medial, as is common in other Badawin dialects.

To denote the future tense a *b* ب is introduced instead of an *s* س before the verb, as in Oman and Palestine dialects.

e.g. باروح *baruh* } I shall go.
بامشي *bamshi* }

There are many unusual words or variations of the common word in use, e.g. :—

water	*on'ghah*	اوْ نَغَهْ (seldom ماء)
sun	*shamsh*	شمش (س becomes ش)
plain	*bih*	(ب becomes س)
sheep	*ghalam*	(ل becomes ن)
kneebone	*zimmah*	(Oman colloquial سم)
back	*hāqū*	(Oman colloquial ظهر)
hand	*idat*	(Oman colloquial يَد)

In answering a question negatively the Shihi Badu does not merely say *la* but has a curious trick of repeating the verb interrogatively, and adding *la*. Thus :—

Question.		*Answer.*	
Has the man come	هل جاء الرجل	Has he come. No.	جَاء لا
Has the man gone	هل جاء الرجل	Has he gone. No.	راح لا
Will you go to Muscat	هل تروح لسقط	Will I go. No.	بارُوح لا

Ibn Batuta recorded a similar if somewhat modified observance of this at Kilhat, a port more than 200 miles south of Musandam, and one never at any time in Shiḥuḥ occupation, but my recent visits would indicate that it is not found there any more. (See *Voyages of Ibn Batuta*, ii, 226.)

Other peculiarities of the Shiḥuḥ Badawi Arabic are set forth in "The Shahee Dialect of Arabic", by Lieut.-Col. Jayakar, *Journal Bombay R.A.S.*, April, 1902, which work would appear to require some revision.

NOTE, FOR WHICH IN SUBSTANCE I AM INDEBTED TO MR. C. J. EDMONDS.—B. T.

1. The grammar and vocabulary show Kumzari to be a quite characteristic Iranian dialect: which leads one to suppose that the people are immigrants from the Persian side of the Gulf. Geographical considerations would lead one to look for their place of origin in south-central or south-eastern Persia, and the philological material seems quite consistent with this.

2. Most Iranian dialects now have an appreciable proportion of Arabic borrowings: the rather high proportion in Kumzari is natural for a people settled on the Arabian shore. As will appear many of my unidentified words are Iranian, increasing the proportion.

3. In the notes that follow the following abbreviations are employed :—

MP. Modern Persian (Cl. = classical, Cq. = colloquial when a distinction is made).
SK. Soran Kurdish (i.e. of Sulaimani, Kirkuk, etc.).
BK. Bahdinan Kurdish (i.e. Zakho, Amadia, etc.).
BI. Bushiri.
LK. Lakki.

LI. Luri.
CD. Central Dialects (includes G. = Gabri dialect of the Persian Zoroastrians and KN. = Kashan).
KZ.. Kumzari.

4. Modern Persian, it would seem, representing as it probably does the development of the written language of the state records of Persia from a remote antiquity, is in many ways the least typical of all the Iranian dialects. The other unwritten dialects have developed along certain established but varying lines of phonetic change. Thus it happens that these dialects frequently resemble each other far more than they resemble MP., though out of contact for centuries. My vocabulary illustrates many of these phonetic rules.

5. The Kumzari verb as recorded by me Mr. Edmonds states does not tally entirely with the Iranian verb, and perhaps some future traveller to Musandam may be curious to look into it. He adds :—

(*a*) The only auxiliary is the verb "to be" : the present tense is in some cases only found in the enclytic form ; e.g. :—

		MP.	BI.	SK.
Sing.	1st	*-m*	*-m*	*-m*
	2nd	*-ī*	*-ī*	*-i, -t*
	3rd	*-st*	*-e*	*-e*
Plur.	1st	*-īm*	*-īm*	*-īn*
	2nd	*-īd*	*-īn*	*-n*
	3rd	*-nd*	*-n*	*-n* .

(Short vowels are to be inserted before the enclytic after consonants.)

(*b*) The pronominal suffixes of the conjugated verb are similar, but do not exactly correspond, e.g. :—

MP.	BI.	SK.	LK.
-m	*-m*	*-m*	*-m*
-ī	*-ī*	*-i, ī, -t*	*-i*

MP.	BI.	SK.	LK.
-ad (or none)	*e, -sh*	*-a, -ê, -i*	*-e, -u, -i*
-īm	*-īm*	*-īn, mān*	*-īm, -īmu*
-īd	*-īn*	*-n, -tān*	*-īn, -īnu*
-nd	*-n*	*-n, -iān*	*-n, -ūn, -u*, etc.

(*c*) The enclytic possessive adjectives are again slightly different, e.g. :—

	MP.	SK.
1.	*-m*	*-m*
2.	*-t*	*-y, t*
3.	*-sh*	*-i*
4.	*-mān*	*-mān, -in*
5.	*-tān*	*-tān, -n*
6.	*-ishān*	*-iān, n*, etc.

(*d*) There exist also the independent forms of the pronouns :—

	MP.	SK.	LK.
1.	*man*	*myn*	*me*
2.	*to*	*to*	*tu*
3.	*ū, vai*	*ew*	*o*
4.	*mā*	*ême*	*ime*
5.	*shuma*	*êwe*	*hume*
6.	*ishan*	*ewan*	*wen, wene*, etc.

(*e*) The Iranian verb has two stems, the past stem (which is also that of the infinitive) and the present stem, the latter being generally a phonetic modification of the former ; thus the transitive verb *kerdan* (MP.) or *kyrdyn* (SK.), to make, to do :—

	MP.	SK.	LK.
Infinitive	*Kerdan*	*Kyrdyn*	*Kyrdyn*
Past-stem	*Kerd-*	*Kyrd-*	*Kyrd-*
Pres.-stem	*Kun-*	*Ke-*	*K-*
Past tense	*Kerd-am*	*Kyrd-ym*	*Kyrd-yme*
	Kerd-ī	*Kyrd-y(t)*	*Kyrd-it*
	Kerd	*Kyrd-i*	*Kyrd-i*

	MP.	SK.	LK.
Past tense	*Kerdīm*	*Kyrd-mān*	*Kyrd-īmu*
	Kerdīd	*Kyrd-tān*	*Kyrd-īnu*
	Kerdand	*Kyrd-iān*	*Kyrd-ūne*

Note.—In Bushiri the 3rd singular is *Kerdish* and the 2nd plural *Kerd-īn*.

Pres. tense	*Mī-kun-am*	*De-ke-m*	*Mek-em*
	Mī-kun-ī	*De-ke-i*	*Me-k-i*
	Mī-kun-ad	*De-k-a*	*Me-k-e*
	Mī-kun-īm	*De-ke-īn*	*Me-k-īm*
	Mī-kun-īd	*De-ke-n*	*Me-k-īnu*
	Mī-kun-and	*De-ke-n*	*Me-k-en*

(*f*) There is generally no prefix for the past tense. MP. (Cl.), however, has in the indicative *bi*—which has a slight emphatic meaning or none at all, e.g. *bi-raft* = "he went". SK. has a past subjunctive, e.g. *eger b-kyrd-āye* "if he has done".

(*g*) Nearly all dialects have a prefix in the present tense of the indicative: MP. *mī*-; SK. *de*-, *e*-; LK. *me*-; G. *et*-, *t*-, *d*-; KN. *et*-, *at*-; LI. has none. *Bi* is sometimes found with the indicative with no meaning, or with future meaning, but it is generally the prefix of the subjunctive. In CD. it is sometimes found in front of the other prefixes.

(*h*) The termination -*k* with various vowels is common to most dialects and denotes the definite article (SK.), diminutive, contempt, familiarity (SK., MP.), or, by frequent use, has come to lose these particular implications and is virtually meaningless.

(*i*) The final -*h* in *Persian* words in -*eh* frequently represents an earlier *k* or *g*, cf. *bandeh* (MP.) "servant", plur. *bandegan*.

(*j*) One of the commonest phonetic rules is for the complete dropping of consonants in various circumstances.

(*k*) Kurdish preserves vocalic *r* and *n*. This may perhaps account for the 2nd plural of my conjugation and the

apparent presence of the parallel forms, with and without *r*, in the past tense of the verb "to make".

6. Comments on the foregoing paper.

Page 786.

SK. has a "heavy" *r*, which is transliterated *rh*, distinct from the "light" *r*.

My percentage of Iranian roots will have to be increased in the light of the following at the expense of "untraced".

The absence of the broad MP. value of *alif*, it would seem, has no special significance as that value is not characteristic. In SK., for instance, the *alif* is quite flat.

All Iranian dialects (like Turkish) soften the hard Arabic consonants. SK. also, although it has borrowed the *'ain* sound with some Arabic words, frequently substitutes *h* for it, e.g. *Hewwas* = 'Abbas, *Homer* = 'Umar.

Pages 787 and 788.

The first table, Mr. Edmonds considers, seems to be conjugation of the present of the verb "to be" (see para. 5, rule (*a*)), being the independent personal pronouns followed by the enclytics. For the second table compare rule (*d*). From the third table it would seem that KZ. tends to use as possessive enclytics without the intervention of the *izafet* "-*i*" the forms usually independent. The plural in long -*a* evidently corresponds to -*hā* of MP., where, for instance, "your dogs" is *sag-hā-y shumā*.

SK. has indefinite article in -*ê*, and sometimes inserts a phonetic -*t*- between a vowel ending and a following vowel, but not in front of -*ê* of the article.

Page 789. For the *k* in *murdk*, *zank*, see para 5, rule (*h*).

Page 790.

In MP. it is usual to add *tā* to numeral adjectives qualifying things from one upwards. This appears in many dialects, e.g. G. has *te* and KN. has *to*. The start at seven seems peculiar. In MP. numerical adjectives qualifying names

of persons (also camels and palm-trees) require to be followed by *nafar*, the *Arabic* equivalent of *kas*.

Pages 792 and 793.

In the table starting " I am big " is another example of the enclytic present of the auxiliary verb " to be ", which would appear, Mr. Edmonds believes, to make erroneous my statement on page 798. In the light of the other Iranian dialects the statement that the forms of the 1st and 2nd persons are the same in the singular and plural is odd. See para. 5, rule (*a*); the *i* in the plural should, it would seem, in each case be long. The absence of final *n* in the 2nd person plural is perhaps explained by rule (*k*).

The final *-ah* for the singular and *-in* for the plural of the comparative are again enclytics of the verb " to be " (3rd person), as, indeed, is borne out by the examples on the next page.

Mr. Edmonds has met *gep* in LI.—" old ".

Pages 794 *foll.*

Mr. Edmonds considers that there should be an infinitive form, and adds that there is no question of triliteral roots in these purely Iranian words.

Perusal of rules *e*, *f*, *g*, para. 5, will make the conjugations quite clear. My verb *gurdish* is thus probably, in fact, simply the MP. *kerdan*, SK. *kyrdyn* = " to make ", " do " (perhaps originally making two distinct verbs corresponding to SK. *gyrtyn* = " to take " and *kyrdyn* = " to make "). This verb *kerdan* can be used with almost any noun or adjective to form a single verbal idea, e.g. in MP. *su'āl kerd* = *pursīd* = " he asked ". *Su'āl* is a separate word. and my first conjugation would appear to be the verb *kerdan*, which in KZ. seems to have become *gurdan*. The past root *gurd*—with the pronominal suffixes given in rule (*b*)—gives my conjugation of the past tense. The present root in KZ. is not *kun-* as in MP., but *k-* like the LK., and the *ti-* in KZ. is the present prefix given in rule (*g*). The conjugation thus almost exactly

corresponds with the SK. (see rule (*e*)). The KZ. imperative, however, corresponds with the MP. and not the LK. root, and must be a late borrowing from MP. For the form of the 2nd plural see rule (*l*).

My second conjugation corresponds to the verb *zadan*: past stem *zad-*, present stem *zan-* in MP. (The presence of an *r* in the past is unexpected, but *r* has strange tricks which it would be laborious to explain, see rule (*l*).) The past tense as given, therefore, consists of the emphatic prefix *bu-*, the past stem *zu*(*r*)*d*, and the pronominal suffixes. The present is the prefix *bi-*, the present stem *zain-*, and the pronominal suffixes.

The third conjugation corresponds to the MP. *raften*, past stem *raft-*, present stem *rav-*, and the SK. *rhuwishtyn*, past stem *rhu-*, present stem *rho* = "to go". The KZ. past tense thus consists of prefix *bu-*, past stem *rwad-*, and the pronominal suffixes. The absence of the 3rd person suffix *-ish* is more normal than its presence (Mr. Edmonds encountered it only at Bushire). It is not impossible that transitive verbs take it and intransitive do not. The rearest parallel that occurs to Mr. Edmonds is the LI., which makes *rāt-em* "I went". The present consists of the normal particle *tu-*, the present stem *rwa-*, and the pronominal suffixes. It is very close to the SK., which goes :—

De-rho-m, De-rho-i, De-rhw-ā, Derho-in, De-rho-n, De-rho-n.

The fourth conjugation corresponds to MP. *firukht-an*, *firūsh-* and SK. *frosht-yn*, *frosh-* = "to sell". Here the KZ. seems to be *foshnid-an*, *foshn-*. There is no prefix in the past, but the normal prefix *ta-* in the present.

The past participle in *-seh* might be interesting. None of the Western dialects Mr. Edmonds encountered has it.

Page 798.

Mr. Edmonds considers my statement that there is no auxiliary verb "to be" needs verification. The third and fourth examples of the first table have the 3rd person

present enclytic of the verb "to be". The *na* at the end is quaint. In SK. the negative goes with the enclytic auxiliary, in BK. it precedes the predicative adjective, e.g. SK. *eme bāsh niye,* "this is not good," but in BK. *ewe nabāshe.*

SK. also has properly no verb "to have", and similar periphrasis is used.

Pages 798–801.

The sentences might belong almost to any Iranian dialect.

Hāmed "he came" = MP. *āmad.* SK. also has aspirates where MP. has none (but has not this word).

Reft "he went" is identical with MP., but it does not correspond with my conjugation given on page 796 of *burwad.*

Pages 798 *to* 800.

Mr. Edmonds observes that none of the verbs on these pages have the emphatic prefix *bi-*; nor have they the suffix *-ish,* but they are all intransitive.

Juwān for "pretty", "handsome," is also the SK.

Page 801.

Tātum "I want" might be interesting. In SK. the verb for "to want", "wish," is anomalous.

7. *Remarks on the Vocabulary.*

Page.	*English.*	*Kumzāri.*	*Remarks.*
803.	Abandoned	*wesht-ish*	SK. has *hishtin* = "to leave". In many dialects *w* and *h* correspond.
	Afternoon	*pishtu*	SK. has *pysht* = "behind", "after".
	And	*wa*	The word is equally Iranian.
	Anger	*zur*	MP. has *zūr* = "violence".
804.	Barley	*jah*	BK. has *jā.*
805.	Bit	*kha'adish*	*Khā'idan* is MP. for "bite", "gnaw," etc.
806.	Born	*zaseh*	Very interesting, see remarks on pages 792 foll.
	Boy	*rok*	Cf. SK. *kurh, kurheke.*
807	Brought, he	*wadish*	Seems to be *āwurd-ish.*

Page.	English.	Kumzāri.	Remarks.
807.	Cave	*gaud*	*Gaud* in MP. = "hollow", "depressed" (place).
	Child, fem.	*ditk*	*Dit* usual in CD. (*kh* having disappeared, see rule (*k*)). For final *k*, see rule *h*.
	Closed	*habniseh*	Peculiar and interesting.
808.	Come	*biyo*	Identical in LI.
811.	Dry	*hishk*	SK. has *wushk*, see "abandoned".
	Dwelt	*nisht*	SK. has *nishtin* "to sit".
	Dug	*tikayna*	Must be the present cf. SK. *de-ken-e* "he digs".
812.	Egg	*khaig*	MP. *khāyeh* = "egg", gen. "testicle".
813.	Eye	*chom*	The disappearance of *sh* is typical.
	Father	*bap*	Common in all Iranian dialects with long *a*.
814.	Fell	*keft*	SK. has *kewt*, BK. *keft*.
816.	Fox	*rayu*	SK. has *rêwi* "fox" = MP. *rūbā*.
817.	He	*yeh*	See remarks above on pronouns.
	Here	*aywo*	SK. *ewê* = "there".
818.	Ink	*darman*	MP., SK. *dermān* = "drug", "medicine."
	Instead of	*jāga*	SK. has *jêga* = "place", "in place of."
819.	Key	*kalīl*	SK. has *kelīl* = "key".
	last night	*dūshīn shō*	MP. *dūsh* = "last night"; SK. has *shō* = "night."
820.	Laughed	*khanīdish*	SK. has *kanī* = "he laughed" (i.e. without the first *d* of the MP. root).
	Light	*suwōk*	SK. has *sūk* "light".

Page.	English.	Kumzāri.	Remarks.
820.	Lip	*lo*	SK. has *lêw*.
	Little (adv.)	*handuk*	MP. has *andak*.
821.	Medicine	*darman*	Identical in MP. and SK. with second *a* long.
	Milk	*sayrah*	? = MP. *shīr*, dialect *sīr*.
822.	Mouse	*musk*	SK. *mishk* = "mouse."
823.	Near	*naysik*	SK. *nezīk*.
	None	*ichineh*	? *hīch niye*.
	Noon	*pīshīn*	? *pīsh* "in front" (opp. to *pysht*, see "afternoon").
824.	Nothing		See "none".
	Hundred	*sutata*	SK. *sat*.
826.	Often	*bārabāra*	MP., SK. *bāra* = "a time"; *bārabāra* "again and again".
	Open	*wākiseh*	Apparently = *wā kurseh* (see conjugation) = *wā kerdeh* of MP. = "opened".
827.	Place	*jaga*	SK. has *jêga* = "place".
	Pray	*nuwāz*	SK. = *nözh*.
829.	Quarrelled	*zuwandās*	? *zuwan dā-ish* = "he gave tongue," *zwān, zabān* = "tongue."
	Ran	*burwad*, etc.	= "he went", see above.
830.	Raw	*tāzagh*	For this and KZ. words in *gh* see rule (*j*).
	Rock	*bard*	SK., LI. *berd*.
831.	Salt	*khūwah*	SK. *khö*.
	Scarce	*handuk*	= MP. *andak*.
	Sell		See above, on pages 794–7.
832.	She		See above, on pronouns.
	Silver	*spireh*	SK., LI., etc., *spī* = "white".
833.	Slowly		See "little", above.
835.	Summer	*hāmīn*	Cf. SK. *hāwīn*.
	Sunrise	*taybala*	? *tê* (SK.) = "comes", *bālā* (MP.) = "up".

Page.	English.	Kumzāri.	Remarks.
835.	Them These They		Iranian ; see above.
836.	Thirst	*chaynagh*	Cf. MP. *tishnagī* (*tishneh* = "thirsty").
	Tongue	*zuwān*	Also *Kurdish.*
	Took	*gidish*	Prob. *girt-ish.* SK. has *gyrt*= "he took" = MP. *girift.* Not to be confused with *kerd* (MP.), *kyrd* (SK.) = "he made".
	To-morrow	*nuwāz ṣabāḥ*	Prob. "at morning prayer", i.e. to-morrow morning (see "pray", above).
837.	Ugly	*bunj*	See bad : unknown in Western dialects : might be interesting.
	Understand	*danadish*	= MP. *dānad* = "he knows".
838.	Wanted	*watidish*	See remark on p. 801 of article above. Perhaps *wa* is the root of the verb "to want". SK. has *em -ewê* = "I want".
	Water	*hāw*	"Āw" is almost universal in dialect.
	Wheat	*gaynum*	SK. *genym.*
839.	Where	*gāyā*	SK. *kö* ; "where is ?" *kö-ye.*
	Which	*karami*	Cf. MP. *kudām* ; SK. *kam.*
	White	*spīr*	SK., LI. *spī.*
	Whole	*hamū*	SK. *hemū.*
	While	*chambo*	SK. *bō chi.*
	Window	*rōzen*	Cf. MP. *rōshan* = "light."
	Winter	*dimestan*	Very interesting ; all Western dialects, including MP. have a *zemistān*, *zwistān*, etc. ;

Page.	English.	Kumzāri.	Remarks.
			dimestān is, I believe, pure Pehlevi, but might well be preserved in eastern dialects; cf. SK. *zānystan*, MP. *dānistan*, "to know."
840.	Wood	*dār*	SK. *dār*.
841.	Youth		See "boy".

8. To recapitulate. Kumzāri is a quite typical Iranian dialect. Both geographical and linguistic considerations point to immigration from the opposite shore of the Persian Gulf. The principal characteristics of Kumzāri not shared with the western dialects known to Mr. Edmonds, and which might, therefore, help to identify the affinities of the people, seem to be :—

(*a*) The past participle in *-seh*.

(*b*) The preservation of *-egh* for MP. *-eh* (e.g. *tāzegh* = *tāzeh*, *chaynegh* = *tishneh*, *gushnegh*; MP. *gurusneh*, MP. (Cq.) *gusneh*; *khaig* = *khāyeh*, etc.).

(*c*) The position of the negative.

The most interesting single word seems to be *dimestān* = "winter."

The author is greatly indebted to Mr. C. J. Edmonds of Baghdad for his contributions to this article.

Some Sāṁkhya and Yoga Conceptions of the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad[1]

By E. H. JOHNSTON

THAT the religious ideas of any epoch tend to flow in the channels dug by the philosophy then prevailing is a commonplace, and it is not surprising, therefore, that in the period between the composition of the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* and that of the *SK.* the various religions which are described in more or less detail in the Upaniṣads and the *MBh.* are for the most part strongly impregnated with Sāṁkhya doctrines. Not that they accepted the Sāṁkhya scheme wholesale; they accept only so much as is necessary for their purposes and have no hesitation in making modifications or discordant additions of their own. Nevertheless we can discern through the confused welter of systems that the general outlines of the scheme set out by Īśvarakṛṣṇa with its summing up of existence under twenty-five heads were accepted as the standard throughout the period. But how disturbing it would be to all our convictions of historical development if, as has been held, not merely was the outer façade of the Sāṁkhya philosophy maintained intact for all that time, but also there was no change inside. In a lapse of many centuries, during which philosophical speculation was so active and new schools with new ideas and methods were developing, we should expect some change in nomenclature and a great deal of change in the conceptions underlying the apparently unchanging scheme; but there is no general agreement yet about the nature and extent of such changes, if any. Partly,

[1] I use the following abbreviations: *MBh.*, *Mahābhārata* (Calcutta edition); *BhG.*, *Bhagavadgītā*; *SK.*, *Sāṁkhyakārikā*; *TS.*, *Tattvasamāsa*. References to modern literature will be found in Hauschild's edition of the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, Leipzig, 1927, and in Keith's *Sāṁkhya System*, 2nd edition, 1924; since then there has appeared H. Jacobi's important article, "Ueber das ursprüngliche Yogasystem" (*Sitzungsberichten of the Prussian Academy*, 1929, p. 581).

the quality of the evidence is to blame; for we have no exposition of Sāṁkhya teaching which is both certainly authoritative and certainly older than the *SK.*, so that a way is always left open to the retort, when a view other than that contained in the *SK.* is found to have prevailed earlier, that, just because it is different, therefore it is not genuine Sāṁkhya. Partly also, I venture to think, the method employed has been inadequate; attention has been concentrated too exclusively on a few famous passages in order to see what can be deduced from them instead of collecting all the evidence on any given point and then seeing where it leads us, while sight has also been lost of the fact that the borrowings relate mostly to the analysis of *prakṛti* and its derivatives and far less to the conception of *puruṣa* and its relation to *prakṛti.* Definite results are more likely in the former than the latter direction.[1]

With these considerations in mind I propose, as the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* is the oldest document we have giving an adequate account of Sāṁkhya views, to examine in detail the numerical riddle contained in it in the light of such evidence as is available. The text of this Upaniṣad is so notoriously corrupt as to require careful scrutiny before it is safe to draw deductions from it and in doing so I shall make use mainly of literature later than it up to about the time of the *SK.* For it is the one defect of Hauschild's otherwise excellent edition that, while exploiting admirably Vedic texts and late commentaries, it neglects the intervening literature which is near enough to the Upaniṣad in date to be capable of throwing light on the text and meaning of difficult passages. The passage I refer to is contained in

[1] O. Strauss, *VOJ.* xxvii, p. 257, gave a lead in this direction but did not follow up the implications latent in the points he made and no one else has pursued the line further. The references I give were collected and my views worked out in complete independence of his. I would argue on these lines against Edgerton's thesis, *AJP.* xlv, p. 32 ff., that the term Sāṁkhya has no definite philosophical significance in the Upaniṣads and the epics. I use *puruṣa* for soul without prejudice to the question whether there was a radical difference between the doctrines of early and classical Sāṁkhya on this subject.

verses 4 and 5 of the first *adhyāya* and runs as follows in the traditional text :—

> *Tam ekanemiṁ trivṛtaṁ ṣoḍaśāntaṁ*
> *śatārdhāraṁ viṁśatipratyarābhiḥ* |
> *Aṣṭakaiḥ ṣadbhir* [1] *viśvarūpaikapāśaṁ*
> *trimārgabhedaṁ dvinimittaikamoham* ||
> *Pañcasrotombuṁ pañcayonyugravakrāṁ*
> *pañcaprāṇormiṁ pañcabuddhyādimūlām* |
> *Pañcāvartāṁ pañcaduḥkhaughavegāṁ*
> *pañcāśadbhedāṁ pañcaparvām adhīmaḥ* ||

That we should look to the Sāṁkhya system for the explanation of these two verses is sufficiently indicated by the word *śatārdhāram* ; for the only known set of fifty is that comprising the various subdivisions of *viparyaya, aśakti, tuṣṭi* and *siddhi*, given in *SK*. 46 ff. Keith (op. cit., pp. 96–7), it is true, suggests that these verses may be an interpolation because this group covers, as is explicitly stated in the *SK*. as well as by Gauḍapāda and Vācaspati Miśra, the same ground as the group *dharma, jñāna, vairāgya, aiśvarya* and their opposites dealt with in the two preceding verses. But some constituents, at least, of the former group can be shown to be much older than Īśvarakṛṣṇa and the second has a much more modern and sophisticated appearance.[2] The first group alone appears in the *TS*., a work which, as will be pointed out later, preserves certain archaic features which Īśvarakṛṣṇa modified or declined to admit into his exposition. Instead of postulating interpolation, it is more in accord with what we shall find later of the methods employed in the *SK*. in dealing with older material to explain the juxtaposition as due to the impossibility of omitting an old and well-established category, even when its presence was no longer theoretically necessary. There is nothing in the suggestion which need make us hesitate in

[1] So Roer and Hauschild ; read *ṣaḍbhir*.

[2] The eightfold *buddhi* of *MBh*. iii, 64, a lateish passage, is presumably a reference to the latter group ; but otherwise I know no reference which does not seem to be certainly later than the *SK*.

accepting the proposed identification of *śatārdhāram*, which has also the advantage of being the one put forward by the commentator.

The understood object of the first verse is evidently correctly explained by the commentator as *brahmacakram*, since that image is expressly used at i, 6, and vi, 1. *Brahman* is given by Gauḍapāda on *SK.* 22 as a synonym of *prakṛti*; its use in passages with Sāṁkhya leanings suggests that it often means the whole universe excluding soul, that is, it covers both *prakṛti* and its derivatives. So we can safely accept *ekanemim* as indicating *prakṛti*, while *trivṛtam* stands for the three guṇas, the verb *vṛ*, as in v, 7, being regularly associated with them. *Ṣoḍaśāntam* refers to the *vikāra* set of sixteen, which I deal with in detail under the second verse and *śatārdhāram* has already been explained.

Viṁśatipratyarābhiḥ is uncertain. It might refer to the ten organs and their objects (cf. *Praśna* iv, 8) or to the five elements with the five objects of the senses and the ten organs (cf. *MBh.* xii, 11238–41) but these categories occur in the second verse and should not be repeated here. Further one would expect from the form of the word a closer connection with *śatārdhāram*. Now in the *TS.* just before the statement of the four groups which make up the fifty there occur four groups of five each, *abhibuddhi*, *karmayoni*, *vāyu* and *karmātman* and it is just possible that this is the set of twenty referred to. *Vāyu* stands for the five breaths, so that acceptance of this conjecture should exclude a reference to them in *pañcaprāṇormim* in the next verse; as a matter of fact we shall find another meaning more suitable and, as we might reasonably expect mention of the breaths, this is a slight corroboration of my surmise. There is unfortunately no certainty about what the other names stand for; the only published commentary on this work is very late and its explanation here too dubious to be worth repeating.

Aṣṭakaiḥ ṣaḍbhiḥ is also difficult and we have to be careful to exclude late groups such as that of *dharma*, etc., already

mentioned (see p. 357). We should probably include the eight forms of *prakṛti* discussed in detail below and perhaps also of *aiśvarya*, to which Hauschild sees a reference in the word *prāpti* at iii, 12. That this was so understood at an early date appears from the form in which the verse is reproduced at *MBh.* xii, 11229, xiii, 1015, and xiv, 1088, where *aṇimā laghimā prāptir īśāno* is substituted for *sunirmalām imāṁ prāptim īśāno* (a change which can be accounted for by either oral or written tradition). Other possibilities are the categories of *tamas* (*SK.* 48), *moha* (*SK.* 48), *siddhi* (*SK.* 51 and *TS.* 17) and *deva* (*SK.* 53). There are also enumerated at ii, 13, the eight first results of Yoga which may be a primitive form of the *aiśvarya* group, but, as pointed out below, I regard this chapter as a later addition to the Upaniṣad.

Viśvarūpaikapāśam is referred by the commentary to *kāma*, which misses the point. For *viśvarūpa* is practically a technical term for the soul in the toils of transmigration; cf. i, 9, and v, 7, *Maitrī* ii, 5 (*viśvākhya*), v, 2 (*viśva*), and vii, 7 (*viśvarūpa*), and *MBh.* xii, 11233 (*tathaiva bahurūpatvād viśvarūpa iti śrutaḥ*) and xiv, 1096.[1] Though appearing in professedly Sāṁkhya passages, the term is inconsistent with classical Sāṁkhya. Just as Agni is *viśvarūpa* because fire appears simultaneously in many places (*Praśna* v, 7), so the universal *ātman* is *viśvarūpa* because portions (*bhāgo jīvaḥ*, *Śvet.* v, 7) of it appear simultaneously in all the forms of life. The reference can therefore hardly be to *mṛtyupāśa* of iv, 15, but *Maitrī* iii, 2 (*jāleneva khacaraḥ kṛtasyānuphalair abhibhūyamānaḥ*) suggests *karman* as a possibility. But it fits the application to *ātman* better to connect *pāśa* with *jālavān* of iii, 1, explaining the latter with the commentary as referring to *māyā* (as mentioned at i, 10, and iv, 9 and 10).

For *trimārgabhedam* various explanations have been proposed which fail to take account of the technical meaning of *mārga* as "the way of salvation", by which we are able to give

[1] For further references see Jacob's *Concordance*.

bheda the second meaning of breaking the wheel of *brahman*. *TS.* 23 gives *trividho mokṣaḥ*, the explanation of which is uncertain, but there is adequate evidence in the Upaniṣad itself. One way is certainly *jñāna*, as knowledge is so frequently insisted on in this work as a necessity for salvation, and the second is Yoga. For, even omitting consideration of the second chapter, we have *dhyānayoga* at i, 3, *dhyāna* at i, 14, and *tasyābhidhyānāt* (which seems to foreshadow the *praṇidhāna* [1] of *Yogasūtra*, i, 23) at i, 10–11, as well as the reference to Yoga at vi, 13. For the third path we may safely reject Vedic observance, as this is not prescribed in the Upaniṣad. *Tapas* is mentioned at i, 16, and vi, 21, but I think this is probably identical with Yoga. The two ideas were not strictly distinguished originally and still appear together as late as *MBh.* xiv, 548–9. The other alternative is *bhakti* mentioned at vi, 22, with which should be connected *devaprasāda* at vi, 21, and *dhātuḥ prasāda* at iii, 20; *bhakti* is a natural development of the *abhidhyāna* of the deity. A similar word, *trivartman*, at v, 7, has a different sense; for there it is applied to the soul in transmigration and can only refer to the three spheres of rebirth as god, man or beast (cf. *Maitrī* vi, 10, *caturdaśavidha mārga*).

In *dvinimittaikamoham* the commentary takes *nimitta* to mean "cause" and explains it by *puṇya* and *pāpa*. These two are certainly the recognized causes of rebirth (e.g. *MBh.* xii, 9912 and 11261) but their connection with *moha* is not clear and it is a little hazardous taking *nimitta* to mean so definitely "cause" at this early date. Further when in the Sāṁkhya range of ideas *moha* is mentioned with the numbers one and two, it is impossible not to suspect a reference to the delusion of *puruṣa*, by which, when in contact with *prakṛti*, it imagines, though it is in reality a separate entity, that it is identical with it. *Nimitta* occurs precisely in association with this idea at vi, 5, in the phrase *saṁyoganimittahetuḥ* where it would be tautology to take *nimitta* as the same as *hetu*. The

[1] Cf. Jacobi, loc. cit., p. 605, on the original meaning of *praṇidhāna*.

varied meanings of this elusive word are inadequately dealt with in Sanskrit and Pali dictionaries. The original sense seems to be " mark ", " sign," " token," for instance, a mark to aim at, a sign indicating success or disaster, or in Pali a landmark, a boundary-mark or the mark of a face in a looking-glass (i.e. reflection). So it comes to mean the mark by which a thing is recognized, its general characteristic or outward appearance, as in the well-known Buddhist expression *nimittagrāhin* (Pali *nimittaggāhin*), and so technically an object of a special outward aspect calculated to induce meditation of a similar type and then the meditation itself; thus one employs an *aśubhaṁ nimittam* by contemplating a corpse. When at *BhG.* xi, 33, Kṛṣṇa states that in reality the killing will be done by him and Arjuna will be the *nimitta-mātra*, it is best to understand by *nimitta*, not " means " or " cause ", but simply " outward appearance "; Arjuna merely appears to kill.[1] Without going into the further extensions to " cause " and " occasion ", it appears from the parallel phrase at *MBh.* xiii, 819, *saṁyogaliṅgodbhavaṁ trailokyam*, that this series of meanings provides the clue to the interpretation of *saṁyoganimittahetuḥ*, which we should translate " cause which brings about the outward appearance of union ". Accordingly I take *dvinimittaikamoham* to mean that the wheel of *brahman* has the general characteristic of two, i.e. of matter and of the soul in the cycle of transmigration and by delusion presents the two as one.

In the next verse to determine the nature of the river which is the missing object of the sentence we must consider the last epithet, *pañcaparvām*, whose solution, though hitherto not pointed out, is easy. For Vācaspati Miśra on *SK.* 47 explains *pañcaviparyayabhedāḥ* by quoting a saying he attributes to Vārṣagaṇya, *pañcaparvāvidyā*. This is actually the text of

[1] The expression recurs at *MBh.* i, 6881, and vii, 4685; for my interpretation, cf. the similar idea, detailed explicitly, at vii, 9499; should *nimitta* not have the same meaning in the passage from Vācaspati translated by Jacobi, loc. cit., p. 600?

TS. 14, and is quoted as an ancient saying at *Buddhacarita* xii, 33, which is significant, as Aśvaghoṣa appears to cite *Śvet.* i, 2, at *Saundarananda* xvi, 17. *Pañcaparva* is used in the same connection by Vyāsa on *Yogasūtra* i, 8, and frequently in the Purāṇas (e.g. *Viṣṇu* i, 5, 4, *Bhāg.* iii, 20, 18, *Vāyu* (A.S.S. edn.) vi, 37, and *Mārk.* (ed. B. I.) xlvii, 16). It is remarkable that a phrase so consecrated by antiquity should not appear in the *MBh.*; and I have found only one mention of all the constituents of the group, namely at xiv, 1019, besides a partial one at xii, 11631. The explanation is perhaps to be sought in *Buddhacarita* xii, 34–6, where the five members are equated to the *doṣa* pentad which recurs in various forms in the *MBh.* (cf. Hopkins, *Great Epic of India*, p. 181). This latter is replaced in later Yoga speculation by the *kleśa* group (*Yogasūtra* ii, 3), which Vyāsa on ib. i, 8, and Vācaspati on *SK.* 47 equate with the fivefold ignorance. In view of this identification of *pañcaparva* it is natural to suppose that the missing object of the sentence is *avidyānadīm*. This is confirmed by v, 1, where *vidyā* is identified with *akṣara* and *avidyā* with *kṣara* (cf. *MBh.* xii, 8511 and 11419, and xiv, 1455–6); for this verse only deals with what is *kṣara*. We are further reminded of *avidyodadhau jagati magne* in the opening verse of Gauḍapāda's *bhāṣya*.

The solution of the first word of the verse, *pañcasrotombum*, depends on the fact that in the often recurring simile of a river, a few references to which are given below, water usually represents a single entity, so that the translation should run "having for its water that which has five streams". The St. Petersburg dictionary gives references (add *MBh.* xiv, 477 and 1157) for *srotas* in the sense of *indriya*; the precise shade of meaning seems to be the stream of perceptions which each sense receives from the outer world.[1] These

[1] As *srotas* is also used of the secretions of the body, the alternative explanation is possible that the reference is to the idea that from each organ of sense proceeds an imperceptible essence which effects contact with the object of perception and transmits to its organ a corresponding sensation, but this would not affect the point under discussion.

streams flow from the senses to the common reservoir of the mind, which therefore is here said to have five streams. This suggestion agrees with the occurrence of *pañcasrotas* at *MBh.* xii, 7890–1, where Nīlakaṇṭha glosses it with *manas*. Mind is symbolized by water in the parallel similes at *MBh.* xiv, 1163–4, and *Saundarananda* xvii, 45.

The next word, *pañcayonyugravakrām*, is clearly corrupt; for the other four similar expressions in this verse consist of the number five, a word to indicate a Sāṁkhya category and a word connected with river. The second of the two adjectives should accordingly be a substantive. Now in river similes it is an almost invariable rule that one of the elements of comparison should be crocodiles and their absence here would be remarkable. Out of the countless available instances I need only refer to *MBh.* v, 1554, viii, 3900, ix, 441–2, xii, 8627, 9049 and 11161, *Saundarananda* xvii, 60, and *Saṁyutta Nik.* iv, 157. While the usual word, *grāha*, is barred here by metrical and palaeographical considerations, the rarer word, *nakra*, fits admirably and is sound palaeographically, the confusion between *n* and *v* offering no difficulty. In fact we have another obvious instance of the same mistake in *Muṇḍaka* iii, 2, 4, where the received text runs *na ca pramādāt tapaso vāpy aliṅgāt* and sense and grammar alike require *nāpy*. As the current interpretations of this passage are difficult to accept, I would suggest that *liṅga* here means " the outward badges of an ascetic ", his robe, shaven head, etc. The name of the Upaniṣad and the reference to *śirovrata* at iii, 2, 10, support this view, which is made certain by *MBh.* xii, 11898–9, controverting the thesis :—

Kāṣāyadhāraṇaṁ mauṇḍyaṁ triviṣṭabdhaṁ kamaṇḍaluḥ |
liṅgāny utpathabhūtāni na mokṣāyeti me matiḥ ||
Yadi saty api liṅge 'smin jñānam evātra kāraṇam |
nirmokṣāyeha duḥkhasya liṅgamātraṁ nirarthakam ||

The same use of *liṅga* recurs at *Saundarananda* vii, 49, and at *Milinda-Pañha*, p. 133–4 and p. 162. The sense is that there

is no salvation in austerities except as practised by a regular mendicant (i.e. probably, by a member of the order which followed the teachings of this Upaniṣad) and Śaṁkara in glossing *aliṅga* by *saṁnyāsarahita* seems to have had this meaning in mind.

The commentary explains the word as referring to the five elements and this seems to me unquestionably correct. For *yoni* cannot mean "sphere of rebirth", all the authorities being agreed in recognizing only three such spheres in the Sāṁkhya system and there is no other group of five which could be described as sources. But the use of the term is inconsistent with the place at the bottom of the scale of evolution allotted to the elements in classical Sāṁkhya and we must therefore enquire at some length into the earlier history of the group. That this Upaniṣad treats them as having more important functions may be inferred from the lines at vi, 2 (in the form printed by Hauschild) :—

> *teneśitaṁ karma vivartate ha*
> *pṛthvyaptejoanilakhāni cintyam* ||

and at ii, 12 :—

> *pṛthvyaptejoanilakhasamutthite*
> *pañcātmake yogaguṇe pravṛtte* ||

In the earlier Upaniṣads the elements are looked on as having productive functions, and when we turn to the *MBh.* we always find them mentioned high up in the numerical formulas, usually after *ahaṁkāra* and, when their origin is given, being said to develop from it (e.g. *BhG.* xiii, 5, and *MBh.* xii, 6776–9, 11235–8, 11423, and xiv, 1084 ff.). Certain passages divide *prakṛti* and its twenty-three evolutes into two groups, one of eight called *prakṛti* or *mūlaprakṛti* and consisting of *prakṛti*, *buddhi*, *ahaṁkāra* and the five elements and one of sixteen called *vikāra*, consisting of mind, the ten organs and the five objects of the senses; this is found at *MBh.* xii, 7670, 11394–6 and 11552 ff., and *Buddhacarita* xii, 18–19 (reading *budhyasva* with the old MS. for *buddhiṁ tu* of Cowell's

text in verse 19). *BhG*. vii, 4, diverges by dividing *prakṛti* into eight, *buddhi*, *ahaṁkāra*, *manas* and the five elements; but it is important to note for our purposes that two verses later these constituents are described as *yoni* (so also *MBh*. xiv, 623–4). The elements are clearly named in these passages and it seems to me a thoroughly unsound method of interpretation to try and twist their plain statements into references to the subtile elements, instead of accepting them as they stand and seeing if no reasonable explanation can be found; only in the event of no such explanation being forthcoming are we entitled to read into the texts something other than what they say. Besides if the words, *ākāśa*, etc., refer to the subtile elements, the absurd corollary follows that the gross elements in all texts before the *SK*. are called *śabda*, etc.

The word, *ṣoḍaśāntam*, in the preceding verse shows that this division into eight and sixteen already prevailed at the time the Upaniṣad was composed. It survives partially in *SK*. 3 where the twenty-four are divided into one called *prakṛti*, seven called *prakṛtivikṛti* and sixteen called *vikṛti*. But the place of the elements is taken by the subtile elements (*tanmātra*), which, as I shall show, correspond to the objects of the senses in earlier speculation. Accepting for the moment the latter correspondence, the *ṣoḍaśaka gaṇa* of *SK*. 22 has the same contents as the *vikāra* group; but that Īśvarakṛṣṇa did not accept the division into eight and sixteen is shown clearly by his theory of the *antaḥkaraṇa* which treats *buddhi*, *ahaṁkāra* and *manas* as a unity, thus cutting across the division.[1] Gauḍapāda on *SK*. 45 and 48 however in explaining *prakṛtilaya* refers to the *prakṛti* octet and in this passage he is dealing with Yoga practices such as are mentioned in the lines from *Śvet*. ii, 12, already quoted, substituting the subtile elements for the elements proper of the latter. Similarly *Yogasūtra* iv, 2 and 3, also uses *prakṛti* in the plural which Jacobi (loc. cit., p. 612) understands as referring to the subtile

[1] The theory of the *antaḥkaraṇa* was perhaps adopted by Īśvarakṛṣṇa from Yoga sources; cf. Jacobi's discussion of *citta*, loc. cit., p. 587.

elements. *TS.* 1 and 2 accepts the division into *prakṛti* (8) and *vikāra* (16), as does *Garbha Up.* 4 and *Bhāg. Pur.* vii, 7, 22.

The position can only be made clear by going into the history of the subtile elements. The term *tanmātra*, apart from the *SK.*, first appears in two very late passages of the *MBh.* (Hopkins, op. cit., p. 173) and *Maitrī* iii, 2. The latter work is a curious hotchpotch with a strongly archaizing tendency, material taken from older works being mixed up with modern ideas and phraseology. Deussen and others have drawn attention to its coincidences of language with the *SK.* and Hopkins (op. cit., p. 33–46 and p. 471) has pointed out parallelisms with certain passages of the epic. It is certainly a very late work. The passage in question explains that *bhūta* may mean either *tanmātra* or *mahābhūta* and looks like an insertion by the compiler into an extract from an older work or a gloss that has found its way into the text. The plural form, *tanmātrā*, may be a Vedic neuter plural or come from an otherwise unknown feminine form, *tanmātrā*. For the latter it may be noted that *mātrā* is used for *tanmātra* at *Ahirbudhnya-Saṁhitā* (ed. F. O. Schrader) xii, 23, in a summary of the *Ṣaṣṭitantra*.[1] This might be held to confirm the usual view that the term *tanmātra* is a reminiscence of the use of *mātrā* at *Praśna* iv, 8, and *BhG.* ii, 14; but at the former passage the *mātrā* of an element is related to its element as *draṣṭavya* to *cakṣus* or *gantavya* to *pāda*, and at the latter it perhaps has the meaning of *viṣayasiddhi* given by the commentator to *mātrā* at *Maitrī* vi, 6. The association with the idea of a subtile element is far from clear and it is rather passages like *Manu* i, 17 and 19, which show the origin of the term.

[1] The explanation of the *Ṣaṣṭitantra* as consisting of the group of fifty already mentioned plus ten *maulikārthas* (authorities discussed by Jacobi, loc. cit., p. 586, n. 4) seems to me grossly improbable. The summary in this Pañcarātra work is apparently older than any of the sources for the other view and is on the face of it quite possible, though proof of its correctness is lacking. See Keith, op. cit., ch. v.

In literature definitely earlier than the *SK.* all enumerations of the Sāṁkhya topics replace the *tanmātra* group by *śabda, rūpa, sparśa, gandha* and *rasa*. The varying names given to this group are illuminating, *indriyagocara* (*BhG.* xiii, 5, cf. *Kaṭha* iii, 4), *indriyārtha* (*BhG.* five times, *MBh.* xii, 8743, and xiv, 1312), *viṣaya* (*BhG.* four times at least, *MBh.* xii, 7671, 9890, and 10493, xiv. 1401 and *Buddhacarita* xii, 19), *mūrti* (in Pañcaśikha's system, *MBh.* xii, 7942), *viśeṣa* (*MBh.* xii, 11396, 11421–2 and 11580, xiv, 984, 1234, 1329 (reading *viśeṣapratiśākhinaḥ*) and 1401) and *guṇa* (*MBh.* xii, 8513 and 9888, xiv, 1401). *Maitrī*, true to its composite character, has almost all these, *guṇa* ii, 4 (so commentary), *viṣaya* ii, 6, and vi, 31, *indriyārtha* vi, 8 and 10, *tanmātra* iii, 2, and apparently *viśeṣa* vi, 10. The last passage is important and runs *prākṛtam annaṁ triguṇabhedapariṇāmatvān mahadādyaṁ viśeṣāntaṁ liṅgam*, where *liṅgam* means, as in *SK.* 10, and several other passages of that work, "derivative" or "mergent". *Mahadādi viśeṣāntam* recurs at *MBh.* xiv, 1242, and xiii, 1090 (cf. also *avyaktādi viśeṣāntam* at xiv, 1430) and later in the Purāṇas (*Vāyu* iv, 17 = *Mārk.* xlv, 30), while *SK.* 40 has *mahadādisūkṣmaparyantam* and 56, *mahadādiviśeṣabhūtaparyantaḥ*. These variations of name indicate a certain vagueness or instability of ideas regarding the group; the earlier passages use terms emphasizing the purely material aspect, while the two later terms, *viśeṣa* and *guṇa*, imply a more abstract conception. The former, which in the later *MBh.* passages has become the standard term, is derived from each member of the group being the special and sole object of one of the organs of sense (see *MBh.* xiv, 1400–7, and cf. the use of *viśeṣa* and *aviśeṣa* at xiv, 1116–7) and may also include some idea of each being specially associated with one of the elements. With *guṇa* we reach a new conception which was bound to bring further consequences in its train; for none of the twenty-three evolutes of *prakṛti* could properly be considered as a *guṇa* of one of the others. Originally each member of the group was

considered a *guṇa* of one of the elements only (e.g. *MBh.* xii, 7676 and 9090 ff.)[1] but the later theory (*MBh.* xii, 8517, xiv, 1400–7, and iii, 13922 ff.) gives one element the qualities of all five, the next of four, and so on to the last of one only.

Turning now to the position of classical Sāṁkhya, we find that Īśvarakṛṣṇa rejects entirely the group *śabda*, etc., from among the twenty-three evolutes. They still appear, however, in *SK.* 28 and 34 as the objects perceived by the senses, and Gauḍapāda holds that they are indicated by the epithet *sāvayava* of *vyakta* in *SK.* 10. The vacancy among the evolutes is filled by the so-called subtile elements, *śabda-tanmātra*, etc., which are given the place hitherto held by the elements, and the latter, being said to derive from them, are put at the bottom of the scale. It is relevant to the use of *guṇa* as a name for the objects of the senses that Gauḍapāda on *SK.* 22 and 38 derives each gross element from a single *tanmātra*, while Vācaspati Miśra on *SK.* 22 derives *ākāśa* from *śabdatanmātra* with *śabda* as its *guṇa*, *vāyu* from *śabda-* and *sparśatanmātra* with *śabda* and *sparśa* for its qualities, and so on up to earth from all five with all five qualities. Further, the *tanmātra* group is described as *aviśeṣa* and the elements as *viśeṣa* (*SK.* 38). *Viśeṣa* we have already met, but *aviśeṣa* as applied to either group I can only find previously in the doubtful phrase at *MBh.* xii, 9084, *aviśeṣāṇi bhūtāni guṇāṁś ca jahato muneḥ*, where the correct reading may be *saviśeṣāṇi* [2]; as it stands, the reference is probably to the elements and the objects of the senses. The terms have no organic connection with the rest of Īśvarakṛṣṇa's scheme, and on the basis of the *SK.* alone there is no obvious justification for them. The explanations given by Gauḍapāda and Vācaspati Miśra are decidedly

[1] The wording of *Nyāyasūtra*, i, 15, suggests this, not the later, theory as being laid down there.

[2] See O. Strauss, loc. cit., p. 273, on this passage.

lame, so much so in fact that Keith (op. cit. p. 93) suggests an alternative but still unconvincing origin.[1]

Such are the facts which we must now set in their historical perspective. The theory of the elements is foreshadowed in the Brāhmaṇa literature at a period when no hard and fast distinction in kind was felt to exist between animate and inanimate, between material and spiritual, or between substance and quality, though the group itself appears as a definite entity under the name *mahābhūta* first in *Ait. Up.* iii, 3, a passage which shows no signs of Sāṁkhya influence and dates possibly from before the earliest formulation of that scheme. The very name, *mahābhūta*, is significant and indicates a conception far other than what we understand by element. To define this in language which does not import later distinctions is difficult, but we shall not be far out in looking on the elements as cosmic forces inhering in the substances from which they took their name. At this stage of thought it seemed natural that mental and spiritual as well as physical functions should evolve from what we should call matter; this point of view prevails in *Chāndogya Up.* vi, and has left definite traces in later Indian philosophy, such as the Jain theory of *karman* or the Yoga practice of absorption into the elements, which is inculcated in this Upaniṣad and which subsequently survives in the *prakṛtilaya* theory described by Gauḍapāda on *SK.* 45 and 48.[2] This was the atmosphere in which the Sāṁkhya scheme was first worked out, with the consequence that the elements could only be introduced as productive forces;

[1] Vyāsa and Vācaspati Miśra on *Yogasūtra*, ii, 19, call the eleven senses and the gross elements *viśeṣa* as being only *vikāra*, while *ahaṁkāra* and the subtile elements are classed as *aviśeṣa* on the ground of their being a cause of *vikāra*. Earlier literature does not support this use of the word.

[2] For these views see Oldenberg, *Die Weltanschauung der Brahmaṇa-texte*, 1919, pp. 32–99, and in particular pp. 58–62, and for *Chāndogya Up.*, vi, Jacobi, *Die Entwickelung der Gottesidee bei den Indern*, 1923, pp. 11 ff. Cf. also Jacobi's explanation of the origin of the Mīmāṁsaka doctrine of the eternity of the connection between *śabda* and *artha*, *Indian Studies in Honour of C. R. Lanman*, p. 158; similarly O. Strauss, *ZDMG.* 81, p. 150.

it is a grave anachronism to suppose that any thinker, however original, could at that time have conceived them as gross purely material products at the lower end of the scale of evolution. Now the earliest Sāṁkhya should be held, in my opinion, on the strength of the evidence of the passage under discussion to have divided its twenty-four constituents on the material side into eight creative forces and sixteen products with a symmetry which was pleasing to early thought, and it is only to be expected in view of what has been said that the elements should be found among the creative forces. It seems to follow as a corollary from this division that originally the elements were held to enter into the composition of the eleven senses as well as of the five objects of the senses ; there is little definite evidence on this point, but as late as *MBh.* xii, 11423 *manas* is specifically stated to depend on the elements, this being a passage which accepts the division into eight and sixteen. When, therefore, the Uddyotakara on *Nyāyasūtra* i, 29 remarks that the Yogas held the senses to be *bhautika* and the Sāṁkhyas held them to be *abhautika*, the explanation seems to be that the former still held the old view, while the Sāṁkhyas under the lead of Īśvarakṛṣṇa's school had taken up a more modern view.[1] Again, what I have said above about the lack of distinction between substances and qualities accounts for the material objects of the world being classed by their qualities, according to which sense they were perceptible, namely, *śabda*, etc.

The next stage is dimly shadowed to us in the fluctuations of idea and phraseology of the *MBh.* ; for, while its popular character unfitted it for serious philosophical discussion, yet it does reflect to some extent the developments that were taking place. The division into eight and sixteen seems gradually to fall into disfavour and later passages declare explicitly that mind and the ten organs proceed from

[1] But otherwise Jacobi, *Ueber das ursprüngliche Yogasystem*, p. 608 ff., who holds this to be one of the original points of distinction between the two schools.

ahaṁkāra alone, while attention has already been drawn to the changes regarding the objects of the senses. In fact, behind the scenes Indian philosophers were being trained to accuracy of thought and the drawing of fine distinctions by the grammarians and in due course this led to the rise of the Vaiśeṣika school with its closer analysis of the nature of substances, qualities and relationships. Traces of Vaiśeṣika influence are clearly discernible in some of the later passages from the epic cited above and it is not without significance that Gauḍapāda on *SK*. 22 and 42 described the *tanmātra* group as *paramāṇu*. On the one hand, the atomic theory inevitably involved a purely material view of the elements and its increasing acceptance necessitated some modification of the Sāṁkhya position to meet the change of ideas. On the other, it was found that the realities underlying the terms *śabda*, etc., could only be adequately expressed by explaining them as qualities, not as material objects looked at from special aspects.[1]

The school of thought whose views are preserved for us in the *SK*. solved these problems in a very ingenious way so as to include the new ideas while making the break with the old as little conspicuous as possible. The purely material view of the elements was frankly accepted and, as they could, therefore, no longer be supposed to have creative powers, they were relegated to the bottom of the scale of evolution, where room was made for them by excluding the *śabda* group altogether from the category of products and treating them as merely qualities of the elements. The number of evolutes had, however, to be maintained in accordance with well-established tradition and something was wanted to account for the appearance of the elements. Hence, the invention of the *tanmātra* group, which not only met these needs but made it possible to explain away the older texts by saying that by *mahābhūta* they meant *tanmātra* and by *śabda*, etc., the elements. The Sāṁkhya school was always very anxious

[1] Cf. *Mahābhāṣya*, i, 246, 2=ii, 198, 5, and ii, 366, 14.

to insist on its orthodoxy, and it still had to explain away the use of the word *viśeṣa*, especially in the consecrated phrase *mahadādi viśeṣāntam* (see p. 867) for the twenty-three evolutes. It therefore had to describe the elements as *viśeṣa* and find a meaning for the term as best it could, the explanation being given a more plausible appearance by calling the *tanmātra* group *aviśeṣa*; Īśvarakṛṣṇa could thus hint at his orthodoxy by twice using a similar phrase.

Having thus explained the historical significance of this term, I turn to the next line. While it is natural to take *pañcaprāṇormim* as referring to the five breaths, closer scrutiny reveals difficulties. Apart from the possibility of their having been already referred to among the twenty of the previous verse, it is alien to the spirit of these two verses to name any category directly and it is hardly accurate to signify the group by its first member. *Prāṇa* is that one of the breaths which is responsible for the general activities of the body (e.g. Gauḍapāda on *SK*. 29) and it seems to me decidedly preferable to accept the traditional interpretation of the five organs of action. *Pañcabuddhyādimūlām* probably refers to the five organs of sense, as in *MBh*. xii, 7086 (= 10505) they are called the *adhiṣṭhānāni* of *buddhi*, the ground given in 10505 being that, when the senses cease to act, *buddhi* ceases to act too.

In the next line *pañcāvartām* has no distinguishing word and its significance, like that of *pañcaparva*, was probably well understood. *Pañcaduḥkhaughavegām* is explained in the commentary by the state of existence as an embryo, birth, disease, old age, and death; but, so far as I am aware, there is no evidence for such a group and the texts agree that to the Sāṁkhyas *duḥkha* is threefold. A solution is preferable which treats *duḥkha* as an enigmatic symbol of some other category and a clue is provided by Gauḍapāda on *SK*. 50, where fivefold *tuṣṭi* is obtained from turning away from the five objects of the senses by seeing that they involve *arjana*, *rakṣaṇa*, *kṣaya*, *saṅga*, and *hiṁsā*; the two latter

are described as *doṣa*, but the three former as *duḥkha*, because the acquisition, retention, and loss of the objects lead to suffering. The same triplet is referred to as *duḥkha* with respect to *kāma*, which in Buddhist schemes is fivefold as relating to the five objects of the senses, at *Saundarananda* xv, 7 and 9, in a way that shows the idea to be old. Again at *Maitrī* iii, 2 the individual is described as *guṇaughair uhyamānaḥ*, where *guṇa* probably means only the objects of the senses, though the commentary apparently includes the body and organs in addition. I accordingly take *duḥkhaugha* to refer to the five objects of the senses, as the evidence relates both terms of the compound to them.

The last word for explanation, *pañcāśadbhedām*, is suspicious as breaking the symmetry by introducing the number fifty. Further it can only be explained by the *pañcāśad bhedāḥ* of *SK*. 46, which, as already pointed out above, are mentioned in the previous verse. The commentary explains the compound as referring to the *kleśa* pentad of *Yogasūtra* ii, 3, on the strength of which Hauschild accepts an earlier proposal to read *pañcakleśabhedām*. But this is hopeless metrically, as the line should consist of eleven or twelve syllables, not of thirteen. I doubt too, if the use of *kleśa* as the name of a category can be substantiated earlier than the passage just mentioned.[1] Its use at i, 11 of this Upaniṣad seems to be entirely general and it does not occur in the *Śāntiparvan* in the special sense, the substitute for it being the *doṣa* group with varying constituents (e.g. 8772, 9868, 11047, and 11152). Several members of it have a decidedly modern appearance, and finally Vācaspati Miśra on *SK*. 47 identifies it with the fivefold *avidyā* already included in the verse. The commentator, however, does not give the reading specifically as *pañcakleśabhedām* and may conceivably have had

[1] Cf. Jacobi, loc. cit., p. 593 ff., for the history of the *kleśa* group and my remarks above on *pañcaparvām*. Similarly in the Pali canon no *kilesa* group occurs till the time of the Abhidhamma literature and the word is practically unknown to the Nikāyas.

pañcabhedām, which is metrically possible and which might have been corrected by a copyist who knew *SK*. 46 into the existing reading. In that case I can only explain *pañcabhedām* by reference to *bhedānām parimāṇāt* of *SK*. 15, glossed by Gauḍapāda with *buddhi*, *ahaṁkāra*, the *tanmātra* group of five (for which we should have here to substitute the five objects of the senses), the *indriya* group of eleven, and the element group of five ; this division of the evolutes into five groups occurs again in the *bhāṣya* on *SK*. 59. Remembering that *avidyā* is equated with *kṣara* in this Upaniṣad, this solution giving all the divisions of *kṣara* would fit in very well. A somewhat similar group of five, viz. *adhiṣṭhāna*, *kartṛ*, *karaṇa*, *ceṣṭā*, and *daiva*, is expressly stated at *BhG*. xviii, 14 to be Sāṁkhya, but is not found elsewhere. Though its exact interpretation seems to me far from certain, it might be understood as making the same division.[1] Alternatively, if we look at it palaeographically, the correct reading might be *pañcasadbhedām* or *pañcāsadbhedām*, but I cannot suggest a probable solution for either.

Thus we have found fairly certain explanations for the first four, the sixth, and the eighth compounds of this verse and a possible one for the seventh. Also in the two verses we have found all the twenty-four topics mentioned separately except one, *ahaṁkāra* ; yet this was known to the Upaniṣad (v, 8) and the only possible term for it is the unsolved *pañcāvartām*. Was there then a fivefold *ahaṁkāra* ? Our only evidence for it is the commentarial explanation of *TS*. 13, *pañca karmātmānaḥ*, said to be five forms of *ahaṁkāra* ; but the evidence is late and untrustworthy, and the explanation of the sūtra highly doubtful. It may, however, indicate the persistence to a late epoch of a tradition of a

[1] Cf. W. D. P. Hill's and R. Garbe's translations. I incline to think that *adhiṣṭhāna* stands for *buddhi*, which is often described as the *adhiṣṭhāna* of *puruṣa*, *kartṛ* for *ahaṁkāra* and *karaṇa* for mind and the ten senses. If this is correct, *ceṣṭā* would stand for the objects of the senses and *daiva* for the elements. Otherwise Edgerton, *AJP*. xlv, 18.

fivefold *ahaṁkāra*. The threefold division in the *ŚK.* according to the guṇas is more apparent than real, the division being in substance into two only, *vaikṛta* (= *sāttvika* plus *rājasa*), the origin of the eleven senses, and *bhūtādi* (= *tāmasa* plus *rājasa*), the origin of the material world ; and this is probably the older division on which the threefold one has been superimposed.[1] Though the importance of *ahaṁkāra* in the classical scheme has been whittled away by restricting its function to *abhimāna*, originally it seems to have represented the emotional components of the individual which make up his personality. This comes out curiously by converting into Sāṁkhya phraseology the oldest Buddhist formula for the individual, that of the five skandhas ; for *rūpa* = the five elements and the five objects of the senses, *vedanā* = *indriya*, *saṁjñā* = *manas* and *vijñāna* = *buddhi* (so *buddhi* at *Kaṭha*, iii, 3 = *vijñāna* ib. iii, 9), so that *saṁskāra* seems to be parallel to *ahaṁkāra*. It is possible that this aspect of *ahaṁkāra* was expressed by a fivefold formula which is no longer extant. But this is speculation, and we must leave the matter on a note of interrogation.

The foregoing exegesis demonstrates that the author of the Upaniṣad was fully acquainted with the Sāṁkhya conceptions of *prakṛti*, its evolutes and the subordinate categories, but in a form more primitive than that of the *SK.*, on whose position in the evolution of Sāṁkhya philosophy some light has been thrown. The case stands differently with the *TS.* ; its very brief nature makes it hard to be certain of the exact meaning of some of its terms and the commentary is late and of doubtful authority. On the other hand, wherever we can compare it with the *Śvet. Up.*, the two agree exactly, in two cases (the division into eight evolvents and sixteen evolutes and the threefold *mokṣa*) against the *SK.* One of its sūtras is known

[1] Is the thoroughness with which Iśvarakṛṣṇa applies the guṇa theory throughout the range of evolution an original feature of Sāṁkhya philosophy? Did not the guṇas at first play a more modest part ? The answer to these questions lies outside the scope of the present paper.

to Aśvaghoṣa and attributed by Vācaspati Miśra to Vārṣagaṇya. I may note here another point in which it contains older doctrines not admitted by the *SK.*, namely in sūtras 8–10, *adhyātmam*, *adhibhūtam*, *adhidaivam*, which are explained in detail in the *Mbh.* (xii, 11607 ff., and xiv, 1119 ff.) and which belong to a primitive order of thought (cf. the use of *adhyātma* and *adhidaiva* in *Chāndogya* and *Bṛh. Ār. Up.*). These points had escaped Garbe's notice (see *Sāṁkhya-Philosophie*, 2nd edn., 1917, pp. 94–6) and caused him to underrate its value. For the evidence shows that it is either older than the *SK.* or, more probably perhaps, a summary of a treatise older than the *SK.* and belonging to a different branch of the school from Iśvarakṛṣṇa's. It seems to me probable that the closing verse of the *SK.*, which is agreed to be a later addition, means by the word *paravādavivarjita* not only that Īśvarakṛṣṇa avoided polemics with other schools of philosophy, which is the case, but also that his work set out the purest Sāṁkhya doctrine, purged of the contamination of the theories of other schools, implying that the *Ṣaṣṭitantra*, here named, was heterodox on certain points. This inference is confirmed by the summary of that work given in *Ahirbudhnya-Saṁhitā* xii, which adds to the classical Sāṁkhya tenets certain conceptions unknown to them. Sāṁkhya has a history of centuries before Īśvarakṛṣṇa. Why should it not have split into a number of schools, all calling themselves Sāṁkhya and accepting the twenty-five topics but differing in minor points ? After all, this is what we find in Buddhist Hīnayāna philosophy; the same fundamental formulas are accepted but differing interpretations are given to them.

So far I have only touched incidentally on the Yoga teaching of the Upaniṣad, and I do not propose to go into it at length, but only to discuss the text of a certain passage in the light of what we can learn from other sources. The detailed teaching is to be found in the second *adhyāya*, which is a curious mixture, consisting of seven verses at the beginning

and two at the end, lifted mainly from Vedic works because of their supposed connection with Yoga, and a set of eight verses in the middle dealing with Yoga practices, whose versification and language show them to be later than the rest of the Upaniṣad. The whole is surely a later addition and a badly contrived one at that, and the Upaniṣad would not suffer by its omission. Verse 10 describing the place to be selected for Yoga runs thus :—

> *Same śucau śarkarāvahnivālukā-*
> *vivarjite śabdajalāśrayādibhiḥ* |
> *Manonukūle na tu cakṣupīḍane*
> *guhānivātāśrayaṇe prayojayet* ||

The difficulty lies in *śabdajalāśrayādibhiḥ*, which Hauschild, following Böhtlingk and Roth, amends to *śabdajalāśayā°*. Deussen and Oldenberg (*Die Lehre der Upanishaden*, p. 262) construe it with the preceding *°vivarjite* and Hauschild ingeniously with the following *manonukūle* despite the harshness of carrying the sense over ; the commentator takes it by itself as an associative instrumental, a construction which occurs at i, 4, and is found from time to time in Sanskrit literature, even in the great *kāvya* writers, where Mallinātha habitually explains it by supplying *upalakṣita*.[1] While this last is the only possible construction, none of the translations take account of the inherent contradiction in the expression as it stands, for it is generally agreed that the presence of water and the absence of sound is essential to Yoga. Thus *Kūrma-Purāṇa* ii, 11 (ed. B. I, p. 505) gives *jantuvyāpta* and *saśabda* as unfitting a place for Yoga and a mountain cave or river-bank as proper. So *Mbh.* xiv, 567, *nirghoṣe nirjane vane*, and xiii, 6473, *nadīpulinaśāyi nadītīraratiś ca*, *Kṣurikā Up.*, 2 (in Deussen's translation) " a noiseless spot " and *Ahirbudhnya-Saṁhitā*, xxxii, 60, *vivikte sajale vane*. *Saundarananda*, xvii, 2–3, the ideal spot is a grove, having grass and soundless running water. In the Pali canon, which is relevant

[1] Cf. Pāṇini, 2, 3, 21.

owing to the general similarity of Buddhist and Yoga ideas on the subject of these practices, noise is the thorn of trance and fitting places must be *appasadda* and *appanigghosa*.[1] While water is a necessity (cf. *Visuddhimagga*, p. 342, *chāyūdakasampannāni tapovanāni*), it should preferably be running and a tank is neither necessary nor to be avoided, so that to amend to °*jalāśayā*° is pointless. It is a simple and satisfactory alternative to accept the commentator's meaning of " hut " or " place to live in " for *āśraya*, or else it could have the meaning of " requisite " for Yoga. It follows that *śabda* is the corrupt word, and I see two possible alternatives. Either insert an avagraha, which can be corroborated by '*śabdābhir* . . . *adbhir upaspṛśya* at *MBh.* i, 3, 115 (new Poona edn.; Calcutta edn., i, 772, has *niḥśabdābhir*), where the object of the action is to become ritually pure, and by the authority for the word given in Böhtlingk's shorter dictionary; cf also *niḥśabdayā* . . . *nimnagayā*, *Saundarananda*, xvii, 2. It would then be an epithet of *jala*. Or, perhaps preferably, read *śāda*° or *śaṣpa*° for *śabda*°; for grass is one of the chief requisites of a Yogin, cf. *MBh.* xii, 7164, and *BhG.* vi, 11. With either change the text is sound and in accordance with what we learn elsewhere.

[1] Note also the parallelism with these passages of Pali *vijanavāta*, which simply means " solitary and windless ".

Excavation at Ur, 1929–30

ABSTRACT OF LECTURE BY MR. C. LEONARD WOOLLEY

21st May, 1930

MR. WOOLLEY said that the eighth season which they had just finished at Ur had been the most interesting historically and in some ways the most exciting season they had yet had: it was also undoubtedly the most varied. They were able to get plans of buildings, antiquities, etc., illustrating practically every phase in the history of the town of Ur from the 6th century B.C. back to a period which we cannot date, but which we call pictorially the Period of the Flood. Their programme when they started consisted of three principal objects—the first to clear up the plan of the city, tracing out its walls and fortifications which they knew to belong for the most part to the period of 2000 B.C., roughly speaking the period of Abraham. Then they had to go on with the great cemetery which in previous seasons had paid them so richly; and thirdly, they had to enlarge upon the work done in the season before when a trial pit brought to light material evidence of the flood and of a civilization older than the flood and following on after it. Dealing with the town defences he said he could not yet show them a complete plan, but could show a section of the wall and explain the character of what had been found. The whole circuit of the wall is nearly two and a half miles; they followed it all along. The defences consist for the most part of great ramparts of mud brick, solidly built throughout, to a height of 26 ft. and a width which varied from a minimum of 50 ft. to a maximum of over 90 ft. On top of that was the burnt brick wall; in most cases not a single wall but a line of houses, public buildings and so on linked up and forming a proper system of defence. The most striking discovery made in connection with these defences was that the great rampart which served primarily as a fortification also held up as a

retaining wall the high terrace on which the whole interior of the town was built. And in the third place it was the revêtement of a canal. The ruins which to-day lie in the absolutely dry and arid desert in the time of Abraham were a city of waters with the river Euphrates running on the west, with a canal following the walls on the east and on part of the northern side, and with a branch canal cutting right through the town and dividing it into two main parts.

One temple excavated on the canal bank was built by Rim-Sin king of Larsa to the Water God En-ki, in the year 1990 B.C. Decorative brick-work was first found suggesting the existence of a temple; against the wall-face inscribed dedication cones were discovered, and then, only about six inches from the surface, the foundation-box of burnt brick which contained a copper figure of the king bearing upon his head a basket of mortar, and a stone tablet inscribed with the dedication of the building. Some distance further along the wall line another temple came to light built by Nebuchadnezzar. Underneath it were found superimposed remains of five other buildings, all temples, of different dates, and in the lowest, the fifth level, there was discovered a column of mud bricks shaped segmentally four and five courses high. For the history of architecture that is of great importance. There had been an extraordinary prejudice in the minds of archæologists, reflected in the history of architecture in nearly every book, to the effect that the column was not known in Mesopotamia. Any building that had a suspicion of the column was put down to the Classical period. At Tello a brick column had been found, dated to about 2400 B.C., but even so its character was disputed. Then Dr. Hall, and the lecturer at a later date, found at al'Ubaid undoubted columns of wood overlaid either with sheets of copper or mosaic of lapis lazuli and shell, belonging to 3100 B.C. But here we have for the first time an undoubted example of a brick column properly built in the great age of Sumerian architecture; it must date to about 2300 B.C., the time of

the third dynasty of Ur when the Ziggurat and most important temples were built. It definitely proves that the Sumerian builders at Ur did use the column in their temples. This one stands between two walls and corresponding to it against the wall-faces are square attached pillars or jambs, showing that we have something in the nature of a temple " in antis ", as it would have been called in Greek architecture.

Just at the very end of the season another discovery of a temple was made. Towards the north of the city there lay within the fortifications a great harbour which had been traced out and which ran back into the sacred area and must have been connected with the service of the temples. A small mound on the harbour bank was found to conceal a large temple, built by Nebuchadnezzar and restored by Nabonidus. A passage from the entrance runs right through the building and access to the temple itself is by side doors from that passage. The whole structure is in mud brick with a facing of burnt brick on the outside, and stands no less than 20 feet in height. In the inner chamber was found what is undoubtedly a square column, which probably supported the roof; this gives a rather new idea of the later architecture of the country. As the building, if left unprotected, would have been entirely sanded up by the time the working party returned at the end of October, it was decided to put on a temporary roof; it is now the only religious building of the Babylonian age surviving in Mesopotamia into which you can go and almost imagine that the past has come back again.

Speaking of the cemetery, Mr. Woolley said that this year's work is the last that will be required. As in previous seasons, it produced gold treasures, one particularly good tomb had a gold dagger; another—a woman's grave—had a headdress of gold almost as rich as that of Queen Shubad herself, and other tombs were also very rich. One produced a very curious object, a sort of old Staffordshire milk jug in the form of a cow on wheels with a string to pull it along by.

That is the oldest toy they had got. But the real importance of the cemetery was not in the gold things. In previous seasons more than enough had been found to illustrate the wealth and art of a civilization which had been unsuspected hitherto. What was wanted was to prove the date of that civilization. The dates he had ventured to give had not been universally accepted, and it was most important to get the chronology really fixed. This year by a fortunate chance they were able to do that with, he thought, complete certainty. A photograph was shown of the vertical side of the great pit dug down in the course of clearing graves. About 15 feet down were seen on the smooth face of the wall sloping lines of slightly different colours. All this was rubbish thrown out from the ancient town before the royal tombs were cut. These strata had been found to run practically over the whole cemetery area but nowhere had they been so clear and well-defined as here, and as they went down it had been possible to draw out a section which was an actual representation of what can still be seen to-day if one stands in the pit and looks at the great earth wall. What was got this year and what was quite new was dating material for the different strata. Two white bands formed largely of lime and which are practically contemporary, one being put down not long after the other, contained some tablets and a large number of jar sealings—that is, lumps of clay put on the tops of clay jars and then stamped with a seal. Amongst them were a number dating to the first dynasty of Ur. That stratum runs over the whole cemetery. All the graves were found between the white bands and a darker lower band shown on the section, and as the white strata containing the first dynasty rubbish ran unbroken over the whole area, it could be said with certainty that the whole royal cemetery is earlier than the first dynasty of Ur. In the lower band an enormous number of tablets and jar sealings of a different type and of a different date came to light. These were of a much more primitive character. All are necessarily older

than the royal cemetery and the writing on them agrees exactly with the stratification. Below this seal-bearing stratum the character of the pottery changes and there came a series of graves different from those in the royal cemetery and very much earlier; the pottery in them was of the Jemdet Nasr type. Finally below those again was found a single grave with what was called al 'Ubaid pottery, the oldest type known in Mesopotamia. Digging was continued to below the sea level and until the bottom was reached and there was nothing more to be found. Of the lower seal impressions some were naturalistic, many had linear designs showing a close parentage with seal impressions found at Susa; in some the decoration is composed of signs about 50 per cent. of which can be identified with the ordinary Sumerian signs, about 50 per cent. are non-Sumerian, so that presumably we have to deal here with imports from a country where a somewhat different script was employed; presumably that was Persia.

In the later periods the Sumerian and after him the Babylonian laid his dead on one side with the hands brought up on the face, body straight and the legs slightly bent at the knee. In the graves of the Jemdet Nasr age for the first time were found closely contracted burials; the arms were brought up on the face, the knees went right up until they were facing the chin and were so closely bent that the heels came close to the pelvis. It was the first time in Mesopotamia that bodies had been found in such a position, and so radical a change meant either a very long lapse of time or a change of religion or perhaps of race.

The work here takes us back far beyond the great royal cemetery towards the Flood period. That actual period was given much better in another excavation. The site chosen was a part of the town area which had suffered very greatly from denudation and it was known from previous excavation that the present modern surface was practically speaking the ground surface of about 3200 B.C. A section running

right through the pit dug was shown on the screen indicating the commencement at the 3200 B.C. level of building and showing the various strata gone through. No less than eight successive levels of building were reached, marked by very good walls of mud brick and excellent floors of clay. In the top two, any pottery found corresponded more or less to that of the earliest graves of the royal cemetery. At the fourth level a great deal of pottery was found decorated with a light creamy slip spread over the dark clay before baking and then partially wiped off; the dark colour showing through the light formed rough designs. This had not been found in the cemetery. Immediately below this another new type of pottery came up, light with red bands, and with it, and more commonly in the next level, was found the three-coloured Jemdet Nasr ware brilliantly painted in black, red and yellow. Then below the buildings came something of a quite different character—a huge bed almost entirely consisting of grey ashes and broken pottery, the debris from potters' kilns, amongst which were found the kilns themselves.

It was in the level of the potters' kiln that a most important change came in. The upper sherds were wheel-made, and fragments of a large potter's wheel had been found, but in the lower levels the pottery was hand-made. In that stratum the transition was made from the age of the hand-craftsman to the mechanical age. In the kiln strata at a depth of 28½ feet from the 3200 B.C. surface the stone figure of a wild boar was discovered, an amazing piece of work. Other examples of sculpture similar to it in style, and presumably therefore not far from it in date, have turned up in Mesopotamian excavations, but this is the first one to which can be assigned, not of course a definite date in years, but a very distinct and clearly defined position in a historical sequence.

After digging through the mass of broken pottery the excavators suddenly passed to perfectly clean sand, water-laid and about 11 feet deep. This water-laid sand was the

work of the Flood; nothing was found in it, no remains except graves dug into it from the upper surfaces. Below the sand came an irregular stratum composed of household rubbish, sherds of broken pottery and so on. This stratum was divided very clearly into three sections by mud floors showing the signs of continuous occupation. At one point was a great tumbled mass of lumps of clay burnt red and black. They all had one side smooth, flat or curved, and the other side deeply grooved with parallel lines in which could be traced the imprint of reeds. In other words, they were the remains of a reed hut plastered with clay which had stood and been burnt down before the Flood overwhelmed this part of the country. Close to the reed hut remains there were others of a different sort, real clay bricks showing that before the Flood came the people lived in brick buildings, proof of a much higher state of civilization than would have been expected from the reed huts alone. After going through this stratum showing human occupation, soil was reached which was composed of decayed organic matter, clearly the remains of plants growing in water. Underneath it was hard clay greenish in colour and pierced in every direction by roots. This was the bottom of Mesopotamia, well below sea-level, the bottom of the original marsh that existed before the land dried up. As soon as the organic soil rose above sea-level by inches, man had settled on it coming down from higher land. He lived there for some period of time, then came the great Flood, 11 feet of sand deposited over the top of everything, and after that man's occupation coming once more. But the occupation immediately after the Flood showed a civilization the same as that immediately before, though obviously weaker and feebler and degenerate, and it died out very soon. The graves of the survivors of the Flood are closely akin to those of the people who lived before the Flood came. This can be proved from the pottery. The pre-Flood pots of white or greenish clay were richly decorated with elaborate designs in black on a chocolate ground. In the

older graves the design is still fairly rich, but when the second strata of graves was reached they were found to contain each of them only one painted vessel and that simply painted with a single band of black running round, the other pots being undecorated. Clearly there was kinship between the pre-Flood and post-Flood people, but the Flood accounted for their very rapid disappearance afterwards. The graves are quite unlike those of the Jemdet Nasr age. The bottom of the pit was often paved with a sort of mosaic of fragments of coloured pottery; the body, instead of being on its side and gently curved as in historic cemeteries, and instead of being tightly flexed as in the succeeding period, was laid on its back, rigidly extended, the feet together, the hands crossed over the pelvis. The offerings were near the head or close to the feet. In a certain number of the graves there were found, with the painted pots, figures of green clay with black painted markings. Several of these were shown on the screen, one of a female figure with a child in its arms, and Mr. Woolley drew attention to the extraordinary shape of the child's head, a great flattened elongated drum, curiously modern. Other figures of white clay were found with headdresses of bitumen on their misshapen heads attached to the clay. The bodies were slender, they might almost be called graceful, and they were reasonably well modelled. The heads are almost inhuman, unlike a woman's head. One felt that the person who modelled the body could have made a good head if he had wanted to. Clearly he did not want to. The figurines represent not human women, but some goddess or demon. Mr. Woolley said that these, in his opinion, are the most remarkable things yet discovered at Ur, because they have an element in them that none of the other finds have got. It has been very striking that in the royal cemetery there have been practically no objects found to which any religious significance could safely be attributed. Here, going back many many centuries beyond the time of the royal cemetery, are found in the graves of the earliest people to

settle in Mesopotamia figures which must have a religious significance.

"We have come back" Mr. Woolley concluded, "with objects which I think will excite as much interest and attention as any we have found there yet, but we have this year succeeded as we have never succeeded before in straightening out the tangled skeins of history. Now it will be possible for ourselves or any other excavator to dig down into the deeper strata of a site and simply by looking at pottery fragments to assign to each a definite age. We have put in order in one winter's work the whole, I think we may say the whole, history of early Sumeria, and that is an achievement which more than satisfies any demands that could be made upon us."

ERRATA

JRAS. July, 1930

p. 626, line 4 : read *συνουσιάζων* for *συνουσιἀζων*.
,, ,, 24 : ,, [3] ,, [6]
,, ,, 27 : ,, *σκαπαρδεῦσαι* ,, *καπαρδεῦσαι*.
,, ,, 36 : ,, *τοῖς* ,, *τοὶς*.

To face p. 888.]

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

THE DATE OF OLD URDU COMPOSITION: A CAVEAT

In attempting to assign a date to any given piece of Urdu prose or verse we are in danger of being influenced to a great extent by its likeness or unlikeness to the Urdu of to-day, and assuming that if it does not differ much from modern Urdu it cannot be old. But in this we prejudge a question of prime importance, one which, so far as I know, has never been discussed in books on Urdu literature, viz. whether the author was writing more or less as he was in the habit of speaking, or was aiming at literary style. It is not the case, as one might be inclined to think, that all Urdu writers have striven after literary effect, though it is unfortunately true that affectation and artificiality very soon began to eat the life out of their poetry. Over Persianization was perhaps due in the first place to the fact that Muslim religious terms came to India through a Persian medium, and that the oldest writers were earnest propagandists who had to use many Persian theological words, or Arabic words which had reached them through Persian. Further the only poetry the Urdu writers knew was Persian. It was therefore natural that they should fall at first under the sway of the foreign tongue, which had, in fact, been the native tongue of the ancestors of some of them. It was, on the other hand, quite unnatural afterwards that men who spoke good racy Urdu in their homes, should fill their poetry with exotic phrases and sentiments.

In the early days composition was more natural than in later times, and Dakhani authors were readier to use the Urdu of every day than those who lived in Delhi. The difference between natural and artificial Urdu is almost inconceivably great. A few examples will make this clear.

1. Examples of Urdu striving after literary effect.

(*a*) In 1732 Faẓlī wrote a translation of a Persian work, *Dah Majlis*, imagining it to be the first translation from

Persian into "Hindī". It is a striking comment on the ignorance of Dakhani literature among the writers of North India that such an idea should have been possible, or that Āzād should have regarded the preface to that translation as the first work in Urdu prose. Actually prose had been written in Urdu for centuries before this. The subjoined quotation is punctuated as in Āzād's *Āb i Ḥayāt*, 1917, p. 23. Faẓlī says:

phir dil mẽ guzrā ki aise kām ko 'aql cāhiye kāmil aur madad kisū ṭaraf kī hoe shāmil kyũki be tāīd i Ṣamadī aur be madad i janāb i Aḥmadī—yih mushkil ṣūrat pizīr na hove—aur gauhar i murād rishta e maidān mẽ na āve—lihāẕā is ṣan'at kā nahī̃ huā—mukhtari'—aur ab tak tarjuma e Fārsī ba 'ibārat i Hindī naṣr nahī̃ huā—mustama'—pas is andesha e 'amīq mẽ goṭa khāyā—aur bayābān i ta'ammul o tadbīr mẽ sargashta huā—lekin rāh maqṣūd kī na pāī—nāgāh nasīm i 'ināyat i Ilāhī dil i afgār par ihtizāz mẽ a—yih bāt āīna e khāṭir mẽ mũh dikhlāī.

"Then it came into my mind that for such work one needs perfect intelligence and must get help from somewhere; because without Divine strength and the help of Muḥammad this difficulty will not take form (meaning, rather strangely, 'disappear'), and the jewel aimed at will not come into the relation of expectation; so no one has invented this art, and a Persian translation in Hindi prose has not been heard of. I was therefore plunged in deep anxiety and wandered in the desert of hesitation and policy unable to find the way I wanted; suddenly the breath of the grace of God came fluttering on my wounded heart, and this matter showed its face in the mirror of my mind."

Saudā, 1713–80, who is often considered the greatest master of words in Urdu, though not the greatest poet, wrote a prose version of Mīr's *Shu'la e 'Ishq*. The date is not known, but it is some years later than Faẓlī's preface just mentioned. The following is an extract from the preface (say 1755) quoted by Āzād :—

ẓamīr i munīr par āīnadārān i ma'nī ke mubarhan ho ki maḥẓ 'ināyat Ḥaqq Ta'ālā kī hai jo ṭūṭī e nāṭiqa shīrī sukhan ho—pas yih cand miṣrě' ki az qabīl i rekhta dur i rekhta khāma e do zabān apnī se ṣafḥ e kāgaẓ par taḥrīr pāe—lāzim hai ki taḥvīl i sukhan [1] sāmi'a sanjān i rozgār karū—tā zabānī in ashkhāṣ kī hamesha maurid i taḥsīn o āfrīn rahū—maẓmūn sīna mẽ besh az murg i asīr nahī—ki bīc qafs ke—jis vaqt zabān par āyā faryād i bulbul hai vāsṭe gosh i dādras ke—garaẓ jis ahl i sukhan kā dur i munṣif zīnat i lab hai sarrishta e ḥusn ma'ānī kā is kalām ke is se inṣāf ṭalab hai—agar Ḥaqq Ta'ālā ne ṣubḥ kāgaẓ i safed kī mānind i shām syāh karne ko yih khāksār khalq kiyā hai—to har insān ke fānūs i dimāg mẽ cirāg i hosh diyā hai—cāhiye ki dekhkar nukta cīnī kare varna gazand i zahr ālūda se be ajal kāhe ko mare.

"Let it be demonstrated to the enlightened minds of the mirror holders of semantics that it is only through the gift of Almighty God that the parrot of utterance attains sweet speech; so these few lines of poured out pearls in Rekhta style from my bilingual pen have been written on paper. It is fitting that I should commit them to the hearing of the poets of to-day, so that at the mouth of those men I should be the object of praise and commendation. A theme in one's heart is no better than a captive bird in a cage, but when it gets utterance it is the plaint of the bulbul for the appreciative ear. Therefore this composition in the beauty of its thoughts appeals for justice to those whose lips are adorned by the pearls of impartiality. If God Almighty has created this unworthy one for the purpose of blackening white paper just as evening darkens the day, He has also put intelligence in everyone's brain like the candle under the shade; so people should criticize, for why should one die before one's time from envenomed grief?"

Let us quote from Sayyid Inshā, a passage written about 1780:—

[1] Mistake for *sāmi'a e sukhan.*

ibtidā e sinn i ṣibā tā avāil i rai'ān—aur avāil rai'ān se ilā'l ān ishtiyāq i mā lā yuṭāq i taqbīl i 'atba i 'āliya na bahadde thā—ki silk taḥrīr o taqrīr mẽ muntaẓam ho sake—lihāẓā be vāsṭa o vasīla ḥāẓir huā hū̃.

" From the dawn of childhood to my early youth, and from early youth to now there have been no bounds to the incontrollable desire I have felt to kiss your honoured threshold in order that my writing and speaking might be set in order like a necklace of pearls. Accordingly without cause or intermediary I have presented myself."

2. Examples of natural, unartificial Urdu.

To make the contrast more vivid we take first a couple of sentences from the same writer, Sayyid Inshā. The following words, though ostensibly quoted, are his own. See *Daryā e Laṭāfat*, p. 49. How different they are from the un-Urdu nonsense just quoted :—

ajī āo Mīr ṣāḥib tum to 'Īd ke cānd ho gae. Dillī mẽ āte the do do pahr rāt tak baiṭhte the aur rekhte paṛhte the. Lakhnaū mẽ tumhẽ kyā ho gayā ki kabhī̃ tumhārā aṣar āṣār ma'lūm na huā aisā na kījiyo kahī̃ āṭhõ mẽ bhī na calo, tumhẽ 'Alī kī qasm āṭhõ mẽ muqarrar caliyo.

" Well, my *dear* sir, you've become as hard to find (and as welcome when found) as the new moon before the big feast. There was a time when on your visits to Delhi you used to come and sit in my house till midnight reciting your verses. I don't know what's happened to you in Lucknow, that there's not a trace of you anywhere. Whatever you do don't fail to turn up for the Eighth. I adjure you by ' Alī come without fail for the Eighth."

It is not easy to believe that one man wrote both these extracts, but it is amusing to notice that in the last line of the first quotation he forgets his literary pose and stumbles into sense.

I quote now from Vajhī's *Sab Ras*, one hundred years older than the earliest of the above quotations. Owing to its being in the Dakhanī dialect, it is not quite easy to translate, but it

is perfectly straightforward; yet from its date it should be unintelligibly archaic. Mr. G. M. Qādrī, on p. 321 of his *Urdū Shahpāre*, from which the passage is taken, states that the author is Shāh Mīrā̃ Jī. This religious writer died in 1496; as I am not aware that he ever wrote anything called *Sab Ras*, I venture to attribute the words to Vajhī, who wrote *Sab Ras* in 1634.

'āshiq tū use bisar nakū, is kī yād sõ dil kū̃ shād kar aur ăpas kū̃ āpī yād dilātā so ăpas kū̃ dikhlātā hai, ki yū dekho yū merī ṣūrat hai munje dekh kā kū̃ be dil hotā hai maĩ ātā tere nazdīk hū̃ aur tū̃ to mujhe nahī̃ dekhtā.

"O lover of God! do not forget Him; by the remembrance of Him make thy heart glad. He reminds people of Himself and reveals Himself, saying 'Look hither, this is My form, look at Me; why art thou dispirited, I am coming, I am near thee and yet thou seest Me not.'"

In 1668 or a little later Mīrā̃ Ya'qūb translated Khvāja Burhān ud Dīn's *Shamāil ul Atqiā*. A few words may be quoted.

(After some Arabic) *ya'nī ay mominān ṣabr karo hor ustuvār acho tamhīdāt is āyat mẽ tan hor dil hor rūḥ— yū tīno ṣabr karo kar ḥukm huā ya'nī ṣabr karo tan sõ Khudā kī ṭā'at par— ya'nī farmā bardārī raho hor ṣabr karo apne dil sõ Khudā kī balā par hor ustuvār acho apne rūḥ hor sir sõ, Khudā ke dekhne ke shauq hor muḥabbat par.*

(After the Arabic sentence) that means O believers, be patient and firm. The premisses in this verse are body and heart and spirit. To all three comes the command, Be patient; that is be patient in your body in subjection to God, that is be obedient. And be patient from your heart in the afflictions of God; and be firm in your spirit and intellect in your desire and love for a sight of God.

The extracts which have been given enable us to see that simple style and modern phraseology are not a proof of recent date; they are merely the signs of conversational Urdu. I regard the fact as extremely important. It is very significant

that the passage from *Sab Ras*, though much simpler than the first quotation from Sayyid Inshā, is at least a century and a half earlier; indeed, if Mr. Qadri is right in saying that Shāh Mīrā Jī is the author, it is three centuries earlier.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

NAICASAKHA

Professor Jarl Charpentier's interpretation of this word,[1] occurring in *Ṛv.* iii, 53, 14, is of great interest and importance, though he has been very modest in the expression of his views. He seems to have made it very likely that it means a people worshipping the banyan-tree. I would like to make a few supplementary remarks in connection with what he says.

[1] [Professor Charpentier's interpretation of the Vedic word *naicāśākhá* in connection with the interesting extracts which he gives from the Pali *Jātaka* book seems open to objection on several grounds; we may call attention to the following :—

(1) Hillebrandt's ingenious suggestion (the basis of Professor Charpentier's interpretation) that **nīcāśākha* might be a name of the *Nyagrodha*-tree was only a conjecture: nor is it specially plausible, since down-pointing *branches* are seen on other growths.

(2) That the *Nyagrodha*, which "is found in the Sub-Himalayan forests from Peshawar to Assam" (Watts, *Commercial Products*, p. 537), may have been known to the authors of Vedic hymns is quite credible; but it is not *proved* by the *Ṛg-Veda* verse i, 24, 7, which Professor Charpentier quotes (after Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, i, 113, and the *Vedic Index*).

(3) Considering the approving mention of the *Nyagrodha* in the two *Atharva-Veda* passages and the others cited in the *Vedic Index*, and the use of its wood for making vessels used in religious ceremonies, it is not likely that "a Nyagrodha man" could by itself mean "a performer of horrid rites in connection with a Nyagrodha-tree". According to Hillebrandt's citations (I². p. 246, *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, vii, 31, 2, viii, 16, 2), the *Nyagrodha* was for the Kṣatriyas a symbol of lordship.

(4) If the meaning just stated attached to the word *naicāśākhá* as a synonym for *naiyagrodha*, which latter occurs several times in the Vedic literature (see B. and R.), we should expect to find the same in connection with *naiyagrodha* itself, which is not the case. It is *conceivable* that *naicāśākhá* has some indirect connection with the term *nīcā́-vayas*, which in *Ṛv.* i, 32, 9, is applied to the mother of *Vṛtra*, and may here denote *vṛtra* (without the capital letter).—F. W. T.]

To Ṛv. i, 24, 7, I would add ii, 35, 8, as making a very probable reference to the banyan-tree. The verse is :—

Yó apsú á śúcinā dáiviena
ṛtā́vā́jasra urviyā́ vibhā́ti |
vayā́ íd anyā́ bhúvanāni asya
prá jāyante vīrúdhaś ca prajā́bhiḥ ||

All creatures and plants are here described as shooting out from Apāṁ Napāt as his branches and multiplying in progeny, and it is very likely that the poet thinks of the banyan whose *quot rami* are *tot arbores*. As regards the *aśvattha* of *Kaṭhopaniṣad* vi, 1, and *Bhagavad-gītā* xv, 1, I believe there is no confusion with, or substitution for, the *nyagrodha*. It is a cosmic tree and, like cosmic trees in the mythologies of other races, of wondrous nature ; its roots are above—in heaven—and the branches below—covering our world. This eternal *aśvattha* has a certain family connection with the evergreen ash Yggdrasil of Scandinavian mythology, " the tree of the universe, of time, or of life, which filled all the world, taking root not only in the remotest depths of Nifl-heim, where bubbled the spring Hvergelmir, but also in Midgard, near Mimir's well (the ocean), and in Asgard, near the Urdar fountain " (Guerber, *Myths of the Norsemen*, pp. 12–13).

That the hymn iii, 53 is rather obscure is quite true. But much of the difficulty disappears when we recognize that we have actually more than one hymn here. Verses 1–8 form a distinct Indra hymn of the ordinary type and 9–24 an *itihāsa* hymn about Viśvāmitra, the Bharatas, and Vasiṣṭha. Professor Charpentier did not want to bother himself about the details of the hymn, since he was concerned with only one word in it, viz. *Naicāśākhá*. But, perhaps, its context may tell us a tale about its exact connotation which differs from the one the Jātaka passages tell us. Some time after the famous Dāśarājña battle, in which Sudās, king of the Bharatas, successfully fought with a league of ten kings on the Rāvī, with a Vasiṣṭha as his priest and adviser, he seems to have turned to Viśvāmitra. This led to a quarrel between the

Vasiṣṭhas and the Kuśikas. A tradition recorded in the *Bṛhad-devatā* iv, 112–8, asserts that Vasiṣṭha tried to overwhelm Viśvāmitra by magic, but Jamadagni came to the latter's rescue. This seems to be plainly corroborated by verses 15 and 16 of our hymn. It is possible that the jealousy of the former priests, the Vasiṣṭhas, led Viśvāmitra to induce Sudās to leave the land and march to the south or south-east and settle in a new land. That the family priest (*purohita*) of the Vedic age played a prominent part in the leading of colonizing expeditions is made plain by passages like *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* i, 4, 1. The party of Viśvāmitra and the Bharatas seems to have come to the Beas and the Sutlej in the course of their wanderings, and iii, 33 refers to the fording of the two rivers. This seems to be alluded to in iii, 53, 9. In iii, 33, 11 and 12, the Bharatas are described as out on a cattle raid (*gavyan* and *gavyavaḥ*), that is, out for conquest, because the cow was the chief wealth in those days and the chief object of attack; cf. the attack on Virāṭa's cow-stall by the Kauravas in the *Mbh.* *Ṛv.* iii, 53, 17 ff., make reference to the chariots and waggons with their parts and the animals of draught required for the expedition.[1]

In the light of all this it seems plain that verse 14 means that Viśvāmitra wanted to settle with his Bharatas in the land of the Kíkaṭas. Who the Kíkaṭas were we do not know, but they must certainly have been non-Aryans. It is possible that they were the same people as the Magadhas, of course, prior to their settlement in what was later the Magadha country. Tribes migrated from place to place and gave their own names to the lands in which they settled. It is very likely that Naicāśākhá of line *d*, and Prámaganda of *c*, are identical with the Kíkaṭas. Why Viśvāmitra wanted to conquer the Kíkaṭas was not because they were "averse

[1] For some of the views advanced above about Viśvāmitra and the Bharatas see my "Identification of the Ṛgvedic River Sárasvatī and some Connected Problems", pts. iii and iv (*Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University*, vol. xv).

to the ritual use of milk ", but because he wanted to possess their cows. The Kīkaṭas did not follow the Aryan religion and they could not, therefore, be expected to offer milk to Indra in the Vedic ritual or even to know anything of this ritual. That their cows served no purpose of Indra is cleverly urged before him as a reason why he should transfer the possession of their cows to the Aryan plunderers, who would devoutly allow the god to share in their spoils. There is thus no genuine righteous indignation in *a* and *b* against the Kīkaṭas for what they did or did not do. Similarly, there seems to be no trace of religious abhorrence about the *naicāśākhá* creed in *d*.

The Aryans in that age could not, of course, follow or appreciate worship of trees [1]; but what ground is there for believing that the bloody sacrifices before banyan-trees referred to in the Jātakas were practised by the Kīkaṭas of *Ṛv*. iii, 53, 14, or that they repelled Viśvāmitra ? The Ṛgvedic Aryan was not made of the same stuff as the holy Buddha, who could not even see an animal killed for sacrifice.

K. CHAṬṬOPĀDHYĀYA.

ESA MUNJAM PARIHARE

Considerable learning has been spent upon the interpretation of this simple expression in *Sutta-nipāta* iii, 2, 16, the latest writer on the subject being Dr. Otto Schrader in *JRAS*. 1930, pp. 107–9. Context should always be our best help in text interpretation, and the context in the present case shows that Gautama makes a grim determination to fight Māra till he wins or dies, as befits a Kṣatriya. The simple meaning of *esa muñjaṁ parihare* seems to be, " Here I gird up my loins." It is true that the *muñja* grass is very sacred

[1] That various Indo-European tribes have been known to worship trees or tree-spirits proves nothing for primitive I.-E. times or even for the Indo-Aryans of the Ṛgvedic times. These cults seem to have been borrowed from various non-Aryan peoples in the course of their later wanderings. The Scandinavians even learnt the terrible sacrificing of human beings on trees for Odin (see Chadwick, *The Cult of Othin*, pp. 14–20), which Charpentier thinks repelled the author of *Ṛv*. iii, 53, 14.

and is used in *vratas*. But Schrader's *vrataṁ badhnāmi* will not do here, because *vrata* has more to do with the restrictions which a performer of some religious rites has to observe than with any vow or oath he has to take. Consequently "I gird up my loins" seems more natural. As an ascetic, Gautama had only the sacred *muñja* belt with him, and he can naturally be expected to say that he would tie this tight round his waist, meaning that he would use utmost vigour in his spiritual fight. That belts were and are used by ascetics in India to symbolize their spiritually strung-up condition seems very likely. And *muñja* was chosen as the material on account of its sanctity. Hindus who do their *japa*, etc., seated on *kuśa* mattresses, or perform religious ceremonies with *kuśa* rings on their fingers know how the material helps them to obtain mental concentration. I would not attach to *muñjaṁ* in our passage the significance of magical property, as Oldenberg does, and I would take the whole expression as meaning simply *eṣo 'ham parikaraṁ badhnāmi*, cf. *Veṇī-saṁhāra*, ed. K. N. Dravid, Act vi: Yudhiṣṭhira- . . . *bāhuyuddhenaiva durātmānaṁ gāḍham āliṅgya jvalanam abhipātayāmi* (*iti parikaraṁ badhnāti*). During *upanayana* the neophyte puts on the *muñja* belt, taking it thrice round his waist, and reads these two *mantras*, according to the *Gobhila-Gṛhya-Sūtra* (ii, 10, 37):—

iyaṁ duruktāt paribādhamānā varṇaṁ pavitraṁ punatī ma āgāt |
prāṇāpānābhyāṁ balam āharantī svasā devī subhagā mekhaleyam ||
ṛtasya goptrī tapasaḥ parasvī gṛhṇatī rakṣaḥ sahamānā arātīḥ |
sā mā samantam abhiparyehi bhadre dhartāras te mekhale mā riṣāma ||

(*Mantra-Brāhmaṇa* i, 6, 27–8)

which praise *mekhalā* as such and make no particular reference to the *muñja*. It should be noted that the second verse speaks of the strength which the *mekhalā* gives to its wearer.

K. CHAṬṬOPĀDHYĀYA.

THE ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE
6th Session

BULLETIN No. 1

In accordance with the decision arrived at the fifth session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Lahore in November, 1928, the sixth session of the Conference will be held at Patna, from the 17th to the 20th December, 1930. A Reception Committee has been formed under the chairmanship of Sir Sultan Ahmed, Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University.

His Excellency Sir Hugh Lansdown Stephenson, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S., the Governor of Bihar and Orissa, has kindly consented to be the Patron and to open the Conference on the 17th December.

The objects of the Conference are :—

(*a*) To bring together Orientalists in order to take stock of various activities of Oriental Scholars in and outside India.

(*b*) To facilitate co-operation in Oriental Studies and Research.

(*c*) To afford opportunities to scholars to give expression to their views on their respective subjects and to point out the difficulties experienced in the pursuit of their special branches of study.

(*d*) To promote social and intellectual intercourse among Oriental scholars.

(*e*) To encourage traditional learning.

The Conference will be divided into the following sections :—

(1) Vedic; (2) Classical; (3) Philology; (4) Arabic and Persian; (5) Anthropology, Mythology, and Religion; (6) History and Archæology; (7) Fine Arts; (8) Hindi; (9) Urdu; (10) Oriya.

Each section will have its own president and secretary. The languages recognized for use at the meetings will ordinarily be English, Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, Hindi,

Urdu, and Oriya. For the use of any other language permission must be obtained from the President.

A provisional programme is being framed for the Conference. Besides the reading and discussion of papers, there will be a Classical Indian Musical Soirée Mushaira, a performance of the Mudrārākṣasa. Visits to the local Museum, Khudabux Library, and Manuk Collection, and also excursions to Nālanda and Rajgir will be organized.

The fee qualifying for membership is Rs. 5. Members are entitled to a copy of the published proceedings. The fee should be sent to the Treasurer, Mr. D. N. Sen, M.A., Principal, B.N. College, Patna.

The Reception Committee now desires by this Bulletin to offer a cordial invitation to all interested in Oriental learning to join the Conference and to give it their support, and also invite members to contribute papers. It is requested that the papers with short summaries be sent so as to reach the Secretary not later than the 15th October, 1930.

All inquiries and correspondence should be addressed to Professor Hari Chand Śāstri, D.Litt., I.E.S., Secretary, Reception Committee of All-India Oriental Conference, Patna.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE EPIC OF GILGAMISH. By R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON. 15 × 10, pp. 92, 59 plates. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930. 50s.

As the Gilgamish Epic (to use its modern name) is beyond doubt the most important surviving work of Babylonian literature, so is that version of it by far the most extensive and complete which was written for the great Nineveh library, and now exists as a large number of fragments in the British Museum. Indeed, as a connected work, the Epic depends entirely upon this, for all else put together would give but a few obscure incidents and no notion of the story whatever. The more strange is it that students of this poem have been so long content to leave its text in a very unsatisfactory condition, available at best in the accurate, but confused, and confusing, copies of Haupt's *Babylonische Nimrodepos*. The fact is probably that the Epic has suffered from the very excellencies of Jensen's translation, which seems to have created a general supposition that there was nothing more to do, and this persuasion has been proof against the subsequent discoveries of the remains of older and foreign versions of the story, which might have been expected to redirect attention to the basic text.

The main purpose of the volume here under review is to remove this reproach of many years, and to provide a complete and continuous text of the Assyrian version of the Epic, so far as it has been preserved. Thus it is at last possible to read, in Dr. Campbell Thompson's admirably copied plates, straightforward in the poem without casting about over many scattered fragments. The work of the editor has been severe, for while presenting a composite text, he has quoted all significant variants in footnotes, and has evidently collated every fragment with great care. But even more valuable than the establishment of a continuous and accurate text is

the result that a new examination of the tablets has led to a considerable re-arrangement of the episodes; in several cases an order which has been hitherto received without question is seen to be impossible. By these changes the poem has undoubtedly gained much in point and logic, as could be seen from the author's translation which appeared separately in 1928. Further, for the purpose of this edition Dr. Thompson has examined all the fragments in the British Museum which seemed to contain mythological texts, and out of these he has been successful in making more than a dozen "joins" and finding several new duplicates. It is probably safe to assume that, until the appearance of fresh evidence, the text is now as complete, accurate, and well-ordered as it can be made.

The plates are preceded by a short introduction and full transcription of the cuneiform; the translation had already appeared, as noted above, and is not repeated here, an arrangement more convenient, indeed, to general readers than to scholars, though there is no need to describe it as a hardship. We can only so much the more admire the liberality of the Clarendon Press which has produced a very handsome and dignified volume without the one element which might have ensured it a wider circulation. The transliteration does not coincide in all respects with the cuneiform texts, since it includes also the Old Babylonian fragments, which the author has not re-edited, just as his translation took account also of the Hittite and Hurrian fragments, which in their turn do not figure in his transliteration. There is thus a progressive diminution from the translation to the actual text presented. So far as this is due to a feeling of inability to deal with the non-Semitic languages the limitation is logical, but it is rather unfortunate that the Old Babylonian originals could not be collated, since their transliteration is included, and particularly since earlier editors have flatly contradicted each other over the readings of the Philadelphia tablet. An independent collation is clearly a necessity here.

In the introduction is given a short account of the discovery of the Epic, the development of its text, a survey of the actual tablets which constitute it, an enumeration of the principal episodes, and some discussion of the figures of Gilgamish and Enkidu. Here a few comments may be in place. The author nowhere uses the extant Sumerian fragments, but he omits to say that two more are published, and others mentioned, by Chiera, *Sumerian Religious Texts*, Nos. 38, 39. Azag-Ai (p. 6) is, of course, incorrect, as is *KI.EL* (p. 9), and such a transcription as *DAN.GA* really ought not to appear now. It seems an excess of caution to write *EN.KI.DU* throughout. The figure of the Babylonian hero wrestling with lions has no authentic claim to be Gilgamish; he is certainly one of the magical contenders against demons, whatever his name.

The notes contain several valuable discussions, especially p. 74 (on the goddess Išḫara), p. 80 (*elmešu*), p. 87 (the baking of provisions for Gilgamish), but Dr. Thompson still can make little of the familiar puzzles of *ŠU.UT.TAK.MEŠ* and *kukku*. His translation of the new fragment 34916, at the beginning of the poem, is not altogether happy. The passage is full of building terms, some of them familiar in the literature; *sametu* is almost certainly not "base" of a wall, it is rather to be sought near the top, the word being associated with *nibiḫu* "frieze", and seeming to denote some kind of projection. *ṣabatma askuppati* should probably be "repaired the dado", and, if *temennu ḫiṭ* cannot here have its usual meaning of "inspected the foundation-tablet", at least there is no reason either in fact or grammar, for making *iddû* in the last line (and in Tablet xi, 305) a noun, "bitumen", which would not in any case form the foundation of a wall. It is much more probably a verb, "they had not laid (its foundation)", as indeed it has been understood hitherto.

C. J. G.

THE ROYAL INSCRIPTIONS OF SUMER AND AKKAD. By GEORGE A. BARTON. (Library of Ancient Semitic Inscriptions, vol. i.) $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 406. New Haven: Yale University Press. London: Milford, 1929. 28s.

The new projected Yale series of translations begins fittingly, even if a little unsuitably to its general title, with the earliest (and therefore mainly Sumerian) inscriptions of Mesopotamian rulers. These are here collected, arranged as far as possible in chronological order, transliterated on the left-hand pages and translated on the right, the whole preceded by a short introduction. There are also three appendixes, the first presenting the Sumerian kingdom-lists, the second a quantity of relevant material which first appeared while this book was in the press, the third miscellaneous items accidentally omitted from the main text. Both in its subject and in its arrangement, therefore, this work proclaims itself a new, revised, and expanded version of Thureau-Dangin's invaluable *Königsinschriften*, which has been the stand-by of historians and Sumerian philologists for more than twenty years. Nothing could be more welcome than such a bringing up to date of a standard work, now slightly antiquated by the advance of knowledge, but much more by the accumulation of new material, and for many years a new edition has been sorely needed. It would be a pleasure to report that Professor Barton has supplied this need; and indeed, it is certain that his book will be of use as a guide to many new texts that have appeared in diverse publications. But it is unfortunately marred by so many defects that it can never be seriously adopted as a new *Königsinschriften*, nor even be used as an English version of the old.

To substantiate this unfavourable judgment fully would far outpass the limits of a review, and therefore comment must confine itself mostly to generalities. First, the most obvious virtue of a collection like this is that it should be complete, and this book is not. On the first page there are two omissions, the seal of Mes-anni-padda's wife and another

inscription of A-anni-padda; the former does not appear in Appendix II, where at least it would have been found. That Appendix also passes deliberately (one must suppose) over the Naram-Sin texts in the volume to which it is devoted; yet they are of great interest. Similarly, some inscriptions of early Lagash in the first part of *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler* are neglected, so is the inscribed hammer-head of the last king of Agade, certain Gudea and Ur-Ningirsu statues, and the Akkadian cone of Lipit-Ishtar; other texts which have been restored by later discoveries still appear in their mutilated form, and the date-formulæ, which have now considerably increased, are not here at all. Where such obvious gaps exist, there is little doubt that a more careful search would find others. Such deficiencies certainly suggest an imperfect acquaintance with recent literature, and there are other indications of this in such transcriptions as *azag*, *ur-sag lig-ga*, *giš-tug-pi-ni*, and Sharganisharri; indeed, the author does not seem to have consulted either Deimel's *Grammatik* or any of Poebel's recent work. In general, too, he uses far too few question-marks, or other indications that a name or a reading are conventional; the earliest inscriptions, like that of Enḫegal, are not fully intelligible, and it seems useless to offer a formal translation of them. Too often this desire to give the sense of everything betrays Professor Barton into such oddities as "the canal 'Meadow-(recognized-as-holy)-from-the-great-dagger'", and (p. 75) "'(To)-Ningirsu-by-Urukagina-like-the-divine-black-storm-bird-the-wall-facing-built' is its name". Inconsistencies are too commonly found, e.g. pp. 48, 49, *súb ḫe-na-su-gál*, translated "prayer he offered up", and pp. 52, 53 (end of 7) *šúb ḫe-na-šu-gál*, translated "may prayers ascend"; also p. 35, vi, 17, *nim saḫ*[ki] "the exalted one, who Sakh etc." contrasted with p. 39 (first line) "Elam and Shakh"—this apart from the fact that "Shakh" should be Subartu; p. 74 (beginning) *bur-sag ê sá-dúg-an-na* "the lofty bowl, the house of approach to heaven", but p. 78, Cones B and C ii *bur-sag ê sá-dug-ka-ni*

"the great bowl their abiding dwelling"; p. 51, No. 3 "his god is Dunmush" (there is no warrant for *-mush*), Nos. 4 and 5 "his goddess is D."; and among transcriptions one must protest against p. 60, end of No. 15, *LID-ŠÀG* for *LID* + *ŠÀG*, p. 71, vi, 13 *ᵈIM-MI-ḪU*, and the really absurd alleged name "Baniarlagan". It must be repeated that most of these criticisms are concerned with generalities; as for details it will suffice to say that almost every page of this book would give rise to discussion of some half-a-dozen points, in many of which difference from Professor Barton's renderings could not justly be called a difference of opinion only. Sometimes the author adopts uncritically the rendering which he finds given by a first editor of the text, even when it has been proved erroneous by later research, but still more often he seems to depart deliberately from the version of Thureau-Dangin, when it is not merely unnecessary, but when the substitute provided is far from an improvement whether of the grammar or the meaning. With genuine regret for a lost opportunity it must be owned that this book does not fulfil the hopes that its title inspires.

C. J. G.

PENTATEUCH WITH TARGUM ONKELOS, HAPHTOROTH AND PRAYERS FOR SABBATH AND RABBI'S COMMENTARY, translated into English and annotated by Rev. M. ROSENBAUM and Dr. A. M. SILBERMANN in collaboration with A. BLASHKI and L. JOSEPH. Genesis. 8vo, pp. 281 + 61. London: Shapiro, Vallentine & Co., 1929. 8*s*. 6*d*.

A new edition has just appeared of the first book of the Pentateuch which deserves the special attention of all those interested in biblical studies. It follows upon the heels of another publication of a similar kind, but it differs from it completely from beginning to end. It would serve no purpose, however, to enter upon any comparisons, as there is not the

slightest point of resemblance between them. The authors of this new edition neither indulge in vague speculations on critical problems nor present haphazard statements culled from the most diverse sources. They do not pretend to offer a book of a homiletic or exegetical character which can only confuse the readers by a variety of notions and by antiquated attacks on higher criticism. They leave all polymics aside and they concentrate on the work which lies before them, of which they speak with befitting modesty like true scholars. What they offer us is thus far the most valuable book which leads those who are using it into that atmosphere of traditional interpretation of the Bible which is specifically Jewish. There is no admixture of any influence from without.

We have here in a succinct form a text with a translation and a commentary which are the best representatives of Jewish tradition. In the first place they give us a Hebrew text taken from plates of an edition of 1864, in which the letters stand out boldly, all the vowels and accents are clearly seen and all very symmetrically and beautifully set up. The English translation which accompanies it is taken from that prepared by Dr. Benisch in the middle of the last century. A great Jewish scholar, he was able to render into beautiful English the Hebrew text in such a manner as only a Jewish scholar could do who was fully conversant with the Hebrew language and with the spirit of the Bible. There is here, furthermore, the Aramaic translation ascribed to Onkelos, called the Targum. Onkelos had been brought into some connection with Aquila, a pupil of Rabbi Akiba; fragments of his Greek translation are still found in the Hexapla. He followed the text so slavishly as to translate even the particles ignoring entirely the spirit of Greek grammar. That Targum is the oldest translation of the Hebrew text into the Aramaic language of the people and was held in the highest repute by the scholars and sages.

The greatest merit of this edition lies in the commentary of Rashi, which they have added to this publication. It is

the most famous commentary which enjoyed the greatest popularity among the Jews from the time it was first written by Rashi, about 1070 or 1080, in Troyes. Of all the commentaries of the Talmud and the Bible none has been held, and it is held still, in such high esteem. Rashi—these being the initial letters of his real name: Ra (*bi*), Sh (*elnwh*), I (*tzhaki*)—who lived in Troyes, in France, in the eleventh century, most skilfully blended in his commentary the two sides of the ancient Midrash, the legal and the legendary. All the most important legendary elements which contributed towards the elucidation of the Bible are here succinctly introduced into his commentary and all the legal interpretations of the text evolved in the course of ages constituting the Oral Law is faithfully connected with the passages and verses in the text whenever it can be done skilfully and briefly. Rashi also had not ignored the grammatical side, philological difficulties which the text offer are carefully treated and on sundry occasions Rashi does not hesitate to translate some of the difficult words into the French vernacular. His glosses are perhaps the oldest monuments of the French language of the eleventh century and over all is spread such a spirit of homeliness which has made this commentary indispensable to the Jews throughout the ages. No one dreamt of studying the Law without the commentary of Rashi, and to this very day that practice prevails.

In order to differentiate the commentary from the text it was written and then printed in a special cursive type and without vowels. In order to facilitate, however, the reading of it the authors of this edition have wisely changed that type for the square one, and, moreover, they have carefully punctuated the text. No skilful preparation is now needed to be able to read the commentary, but even then it might have remained a closed book were it not for an excellent English translation which has now been given here also for the first time. It was not an easy task to translate a mediaeval writer with his rabbinic vocabulary and syntax into a modern language

and to make it easily understood by any reader who is not familiar with the original Hebrew.

The authors have now succeeded in this task. They have given us not only an excellent rendering but also a faithful one, a merit which cannot be too highly appraised. Some of the difficulties which the text present are then briefly explained in an appendix at the end of the volume, which concludes with the lessons from the Prophets and the prayers for the Sabbath day.

The book will prove of invaluable service not only to those who wish to use it in their religious service but to anyone who wishes to have at last a clear insight into the most famous Jewish interpretation of the Bible which has been, and has remained, a standard one to this day. One can only conclude with the wish that the remaining four volumes should be published as quickly as possible with the same accuracy and care. One must also add that the book is beautifully printed and a credit to all connected with it.

M. GASTER.

RECUEIL DE TEXTES INÉDITS CONCERNANT L'HISTOIRE DE LA MYSTIQUE EN PAYS D'ISLAM RÉUNIS, CLASSÉS, ANNOTÉS ET PUBLIÉS. Par LOUIS MASSIGNON. 10½ × 7, pp. vii + 259. Paris : Geuthner et Cie, 1929.

M. Massignon may safely be considered the foremost European authority on Mohammedan mysticism. He not only published in 1913, al Ḥallāj's *Kitāb al-Tawāsīn*, but has since steadily pursued his studies on Ṣūfic literature. As the latest fruit of his labours he is now offering a volume of extracts from the works of a large number of authors directly or indirectly connected with Ṣūfism. The book is divided into four sections, of which the first three are devoted to writers in chronological order, while the last gives excerpts from the writings of prominent theologians, philosophers, and literateurs. It begins with a number of quotations from

the writings of the famous Ḥasan of Baṣra, who flourished at the beginning of the eighth century and exercised a powerful influence on the development of Moslem theology. These are followed by extracts from about seventy authors, among whom are many renowned names, such as Ḏul Nūn Miṣri, Moḥāsibī, whose fragments fill several pages, Ṭirmi_i, Tostari, Juneid and his disciple, Makki, whose writings are unfortunately lost, and Ibn Atā, the friend of Ḥallāj. To the last-named, naturally, a goodly space is devoted, and it should be noted that his fame was so great that he enjoyed a certain amount of popularity even among Jews. We further notice the learned Ibn Aqīl and a list of Ghāzāli's writings. The third section opens with the famous philosopher and mystic, Sohrawardi of Aleppo, a further publication of whose works is justly recommended. The article on Shustari, who died in 1269, is marked by a number of *muwashshahs*, which became very popular in mediaeval Hebrew poetry, especially in Yemen. Persian Sūfis are represented by Jalāl Rūmi who died in 1273, and another. The reader also meets with writers in Turkish and Urdū. The section ends with extracts from Senūsi, the founder of the militant sect that bears his name, and whose savage revolts are within the memory of the present generation. The fourth section gives a survey of philosophers accompanied by quotations from their writings as far as they touch mysticism. It naturally begins with Al Kindi, "the Philosopher of the Arabs," and in some way supplements the list of his writings given in Flügel's essay published in Leipzig, 1857. This section ends with Rāghib Pasha, who died in 1763. This is followed by a list of prominent theologians and *Adab* writers. The texts are carefully edited. The book adds immensely to our present knowledge of Arab literature in various branches, and is a decided inducement to deal more fully with many authors mentioned.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

QUELQUES INFLUENCES ISLAMIQUES SUR LES ARTS DE L'EUROPE. Par MADAME R. DEVONSHIRE. 10 × 13, pp. 16, 81 photographic illustrations. Cairo, 1929.

This book is based upon a communication made by the author in 1928 to the Seventeenth Congress of Orientalists at Oxford, which she has expanded and remodelled and turned from English into French. Features which are so common in Islamic art as to be regarded as characteristic appear not infrequently in the art of the West, owing generally, if not always, to borrowing from Islam. Such occurrences in individual branches of art have often been noted separately and commented on, but Mrs. Devonshire seems to be the first to look at them in an all-round way. She brings forward examples of European work bearing the stamp of the Islamic style in each of the principal departments of decorative art and in architecture, points out the Islamic connections, and gives much useful information about Islamic art and its relations with Europe.

Most of the examples are reproduced in the illustrations, with Islamic parallels by their side, so that the association with the East can be seen easily. Among them there are textiles, pottery, metal work and glass made in Italy, churches in the South of France, and in the part of Spain that was never under Muhammadan domination, besides buildings and other objects belonging to the rest of Spain and to Sicily. The specimens of decorative art generally fall between the fourteenth and sixteenth century, but Mrs. Devonshire refers to the frequent adoption of Islamic designs by European weavers as early as the twelfth century and to the manufacture of carpets in the Oriental style begun first in France in the seventeenth century. Some of the examples of buildings are as old as the tenth century. It is shown that Islamic art products, particularly textiles, pottery, and carpets, were well known to Europe in general during the Middle Ages. Accordingly it is easy to understand how it was that their designs were imitated in European workshops, and sometimes

the articles themselves were copied. Some of the things were reproduced by Oriental workmen in European towns, members of colonies, several of which are enumerated. In Sicily and in Spain, moreover, Oriental workmen remained when Islam receded, whence the Islamic features in Sicilian art and architecture of the Norman period and the combination of Christian and Islamic elements in the forms of Spanish art and architecture known as *mudejar*.

Architectural affinities with Islam in countries that were never under Muhammadan domination offer a difficult problem. Mrs. Devonshire does not attempt to determine how they arose, but she observes that certain architectural features that have become identified with Islam by frequent use—the horseshoe arch, for instance—are not Islamic inventions. The same remark applies to some typical traits of other branches of Islamic art. Mrs. Devonshire, in pointing them out, abstains deliberately from inquiring into their origins.

The book is adapted to the general reader, and any one who has no particular acquaintance with Islamic matters will find in it much light on Muhammadan decorative art and architecture in general, and on associations between Christian countries on the Mediterranean and the East. The specialist will find it useful, too, for it brings together a considerable number of facts, some of which come from out of the way sources where they are liable to escape notice. Mrs. Devonshire gives references, though some of the references are general, as her treatise was not intended originally for publication. One would like to see the book republished in a form more worthy of its merits.

A. RHUVON GUEST.

Les Faïences a reflets métalliques de la grande mosquée de Kairouan. Par Georges Marçais. 13 × 9½, pp. 41, xxvi full page plates, two of them in colour. Paris: Geuthner, 1928.

The lustre tiles dealt with here belong to the ninth century. For a long time it has been believed that some of them had been brought from Baghdad to Qairawân, and the rest manufactured on the spot by a man from Baghdad. The fact had been questioned, however, because it appeared to rest on a late tradition. Monsieur Marçais now shows that the text which is the authority is taken from an original dating from within about 150 years of the work of setting up the tiles to adorn the *miḥrâb.*

With regard to the text, it should be noticed that it does *not* say that the tiles were brought from Baghdad. The translation given is:—

"[l'émir] fit le miḥrâb. On importa pour lui ces précieux panneaux de faïence pour une salle de réception qu'il voulait construire, et [aussi] de Baghdad des poutres de bois de teck afin qu'on en fabriquât pour lui des luths. Il en fit le mimbar destiné a la Grandi Mosquée,"

but the literal translation of the first part of the second sentence in the same wording would be:—

"On importa pour lui ces précieux panneaux de faïence pour une salle de réception qu'il voulait construire et *on importa pour lui* de Baghdad des poutres. . . ."

The verb is repeated in the Arabic, and there seems to be nothing in the passage to justify the [aussi], indeed, as it stands, the wording rather suggests that the tiles did not come from Baghdad but from somewhere else. Teak, by the way, seems to be a curious wood to use for lutes, and possibly the correct meaning of the last part of the passage may be "teak timber to be made for him into pieces, out of which he made the mimbar of the Great Mosque", *'idân* being used for the more familiar *a'wâd* of the *mimbar*. The Arabic, anyhow, is obscure and ungrammatical, and it is strange to

find رجل بغداد written by an Arab writer to mean un homme de Baghdad. This man of Baghdad "made for him (the Amîr) tiles which he added to the precious tiles first referred to", nothing being said about the man except that he made the tiles, so that their manufacture at Qairawân is merely a probable conjecture.

There are 139 tiles and a few fragments. Excellent photographs of all or nearly all of them are given, together with full particulars of their arrangement on the *miḥrâb*, their colour and tone, and a clear and able analysis of their ornament, also two sketches comparing some of the ornamental details with fragments of sculpture from Sâmarrâ, which must be of about the same date. In an appendix there is a description of ceramic fragments found at the site of 'Abbâsîya, a place about two and a half miles from Qairawân, which date from the ninth and tenth centuries.

The tiles are of two distinct sorts: monochrome and polychrome, and it is natural to imagine that the latter, which are the more elegant, were the precious imported tiles, and the monochromes were made at Qairawân by the man of Baghdad. The beauty of the polychrome series is brought out by the coloured illustrations showing two of the tiles. In spite of the distinct difference in style between the monochrome and polychrome tiles, there are resemblances showing an evident connection between them. The ornament in both cases is either geometrical or floral. Monsieur Marçais calls attention to similarities with ornament from pottery of Sâmarrâ, Sûsa, and one or two other places, and to a certain relationship with Sâmarrâ sculpture. The 'Abbâsîya fragments also are compared with Mesopotamian pottery, and shown to have analogies with it.

Most people will probably be convinced that the tiles of the Great Mosque of Qairawân are rightly attributed to Mesopotamia, and the 'Abbasîya fragments are an evidence of the way in which the Islamic pottery of North Africa started from Persian or Mesopotamian origins. Whatever

conclusions they may come to on such questions, all will appreciate the service done by Monsieur Marçais in describing the tiles so completely and discussing them so thoroughly.

A. RHUVON GUEST.

PENDENTIFS TROMPES ET STALACTITES DANS L'ARCHITECTURE ORIENTALE. Par J. ROSINTAL. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 106, avec 10 planches hors texte. Paris: Geuthner, 1928.

Rather more than half the book is devoted to the pendentives and the other devices for carrying a dome included under the general designation of trompes, but they are studied chiefly for the sake of the stalactites which are the principal subject. The text is fully illustrated by means of plans, drawings, and views of buildings and architectural details taken from various other authors, and by explanatory diagrams, sketches, and constructional drawings of stalactites produced by Mr. Rosintal himself. It includes a brief historical sketch and a full bibliography.

The author traces the development of the Byzantine apse and pendentive in outline, but treats the Persian dome niche and the contrivance which he calls the Turkish triangle more fully, because he has not found any treatise with regard to them that he considers satisfactory. This part of the book contains numerous references to other works, and provides a serviceable guide to the history of the dome, although some of the drawings and sketches are rather slight and structural details are not always shown as clearly as could be wished.

Mr. Rosintal tells us that his geometrical drawings of stalactites, both on pendentives and on dome niches, agree exactly with some actual examples named by him. The various methods of constructing stalactites which he indicates look as if they were practicable and must have been the ones employed. It would seem, therefore, that he has made good his claim to have solved the problem of the construction and execution of stalactites.

In the course of the book a number of controversial questions arise. Among them are the origin of the stalactites, that of the Byzantine apse, and the Turkish triangle. While Mr. Rosintal endorses the view that the stalactites are derived from the dome niche, he disagrees entirely with those who hold that they were originally constructional. He looks on the Byzantine apse as derived from the Persian dome niche, and the Turkish triangle as an independent invention. Where he differs from others whose opinions are entitled at least to respect, it is a pity that he does not adopt a somewhat more moderate and less dogmatic tone. His own work does not seem to be beyond criticism. He states that the earliest attempts at pendentives are to be found in central Syria, but the details he gives certainly seem to suggest that the beginnings may be looked for in Rome. He tells us that "dans les premiers temps les Byzantins ont employé la pern de la trompe perse sans aucune modification", but he does not give any example of their having done so. His work throughout is based on architectural considerations solely, and one feels that some regard should be had to the well-known facts of history bearing on relations between Byzantine and Sasanian architecture before pronouncing on such a question as the connection between the Persian dome niche and the Byzantine apse.

A. Rhuvon Guest.

Bihzād and his Paintings in the Zafar-nāmah MS. By Sir Thomas W. Arnold, C.I.E., F.B.A., Litt.D. pp. 20, 14 plates. Quaritch. £2 2*s*.

The Zafar-nāmah is a biography of Tīmūr, and the particular MS. with which this book is concerned is dated A.H. 872 (A.D. 1467). It contains six splendid miniatures, each occupying two pages, illustrating scenes of war and peace. It was formerly, as annotations by the Mughal Emperors show, a greatly prized item in the Imperial Library of India.

Sir Thomas Arnold and Mr. Robert Garrett, the present

owner of the manuscript, deserve the gratitude of all lovers of Persian painting for the publication of this important and beautiful monograph. Its main importance consists in the fact that, if we accept Sir Thomas Arnold's cogent reasoning, we have in the miniatures, here reproduced for the first time in colour, genuine examples of the work of the greatest and most elusive of all Islamic painters. The problem of Bihzād is the central problem of Persian painting, not only because of his undisputed pre-eminence, but because of the lack of evidence as to what pictures he painted; and its difficulties are such that there is no single existing painting which is universally admitted to be by his hand. The Zafar-nāmah MS. contains the testimony of Jahāngīr—no contemptible witness—in an autograph note alleging that Bihzād painted these miniatures, and there are reasons to believe that Jahāngīr was repeating the judgment of an earlier generation, which was separated by only a few decades from the life of the master-painter.

The manuscript has been known to scholars for a good many years, but the case for the authenticity of the miniatures has never previously been stated in full, and the chronological data have never been so clearly presented as now, by Sir Thomas Arnold. The chief argument against him is the date of the MS. If the miniatures are as early as this, Bihzād must either have painted them in his childhood or have lived and worked for nearly as long as Titian. But there are, as Sir Thomas Arnold shows, many precedents for miniatures being much later in date than the manuscripts in which they have been inserted, and in this case there are positive indications that they actually were later. It is hard, in fact, to deny that "these miniatures provide a reliable starting point for the much-needed determination of the characteristics of Bihzād's style"; though the caution is necessary that the paintings have suffered some damage, and bear traces of restoration, probably in India.

The page containing Jahāngīr's note, and one by Shāh

Jahān, written on the date of his accession, together with an example, attested by Jahāngīr, of the "illiterate" Akbar's writing, is reproduced, as is the colophon page, and an illuminated page of the text. The coloured illustrations, by Messrs. Waterlow, are admirable, and go a long way towards duplicating the quality of their originals.

J. V. S. W.

THE SPLENDOUR THAT WAS 'IND. A Survey of Indian Culture and Civilization (from the earliest times to the death of Emperor Aurangzeb). By K. T. SHAH, B.A., B.Sc. (Lond.), Barrister-at-Law, Professor of Economics, University of Bombay. Foreword by the Marquess of Zetland, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. 4to, pp. xxxv + 236. Bombay: Taraporevala Sons & Co. 1930. Rs. 30/-.

Professor Shah has undertaken an ambitious task in attempting, in a single volume, an account of India's history and culture through the ages. Lord Zetland gives him high praise for the manner in which he has carried out his purpose, and a perusal of his interestingly written chapters reveals him as a painstaking scholar with a gift for the selection of relevant details. He admits that it has not been his definite purpose "to lay bare the less agreeable aspects" of his subject, and one is sometimes conscious of the process of turning geese into swans. There are a few debatable assertions on archaeological and other matters, and the spelling of "'Ind" is paralleled by similar aberrations elsewhere. The book, nevertheless, has manifold merits; it is by no means a mere compendium of commonplaces, and it certainly succeeds in displaying, in a very attractive manner, the infinite variety of India's wonderful story.

There are over 300 illustrations, in colour and monochrome, not all of which are quite up to the book's generally high level of production. Aśoka's inscription (Fig. 102) is upside down.

J. V. S. W.

MUSULMAN PAINTING, XIITH–XVIITH CENTURY. By. E. BLOCHET. Translated by CICELY M. BINYON, with an introduction by SIR DENISON ROSS. 7 × 10, pp. xii + 124, plates. London: Methuen. 1929.

M. Blochet's book consists essentially of two things. One is a very fine collection of plates, two hundred in number, representing all stages of Persian painting down to the eighteenth century, taken chiefly from the Bibliothèque Nationale. The other is a vigorous challenge to the accepted views on the origins and influence of oriental art in general. Rarely if ever can a scholar have ventured to publish a book written in such a continuous strain of violent criticism, never condescending to argument, qualification, and citation of sources, but simply enunciating his views with dogmatic finality. All art, except that of China and of ancient Egypt, is derived through various intermediate stages from the art of ancient Greece; the Persians, both Achaemenian and Sassanian, were indebted for their monuments to Greek and Byzantine craftsmen; Mesopotamian art is an awkward and clumsy adaptation of the masterpieces of the late Empire; Scythian art is a myth: "there never was any Buddhist art, there was no art at all in the provinces of Turkestan". The revival of Persian painting under the Mongols was due to the modification of Mesopotamian technique under the influence of the Italian primitives; Chinese art exercised only at rare intervals a fleeting and evanescent influence on Persian painting. "The theory of the influence of the East on Western art is a fancy born from the combination of several errors, the essence of which is wilfully to attribute to Oriental monuments dates much earlier than those to which they really belong . . . with the intention of attributing to Oriental lands an importance in the development of civilization which is not theirs."

These are M. Blochet's theses on the main subject of his essay, and in order to strengthen them he formulates a number of general laws, thus: "At a given time, in the same country,

the arts, sciences, and literature arrive at the same stage," or again: "If a monument in any one civilization reproduces, in inferior form, a type of monument which is found elsewhere, much later, and in a superior form, this is due to both being copies of a prototype, created by the second of these civilizations, and which in the course of years has disappeared." At the same time he has by no means confined himself to the subject of Persian painting and architecture. One of the most confusing features of the book, in fact, is the way in which the reader is suddenly plunged into matters which appear to have the remotest connection with these questions—Russian iconography, for example, or early Christian music, or the origins of the Altaic races (who, it appears, are Indo-Europeans on the maternal side), or the compilation of the Koran ("clearly not a single writer's work").

It would not be difficult to pick holes, and sometimes very large ones, in all this mass of material. Such a statement, for example, as: "The cruciform plan of the mosque of Sultan Hasan at Cairo imitates the celebrated type of Byzantine technique, that of the Holy Apostles, of St. Mark at Venice before its restoration, of St. Front at Périgueux, of the Panthéon at Paris," made in wilful disregard (to adopt M. Blochet's own phraseology) of Captain Creswell's painstaking researches into the origin of the cruciform plan in Cairene madrasas, can only be explained as the outcome of a peculiarly obstinate *idée fixe*. All kinds of questions suggest themselves. Why is the marvellous technique of Persian carpets, so intimately associated with Persian painting, completely overlooked? Are the oriental miniatures of the fourteenth century Genoese manuscript now in the British Museum no more than a casual freak? But to prolong the list would be, after all, to do a grave injustice to M. Blochet. He has summed up with relentless sincerity the results of a life study, and if his book resembles a bombshell, nothing that is built on really solid foundations will suffer from the explosion. His criticisms will have to be met, and even if they

do no more than lead to a searching re-examination of the material at the hands of those who are competent to do so, and a restatement on convincing grounds of the views which he attacks, he will have rendered by them a very great service to the study of Islamic art. Meanwhile his exposition, in the finished translation of Mrs. Binyon, stands as a monument of an amazing range of scholarship, and the pictures are a joy for ever.

H. A. R. GIBB.

POUR APPRENDRE L'ARABE, MANUEL DU DIALECTE VULGAIRE D'EGYPTE. By G. HUG and G. HABACHI. 7½ × 5, pp. x + 136. Paris: Geuthner. 1928.

With a view to meeting the needs of French travellers and residents in Egypt, the authors have compiled this small and practical handbook. The arrangement is convenient: a summary of colloquial grammar is supplied, followed by classified vocabularies and specimen dialogues, and a selection of popular proverbs. Though the book contains few actual errors (e.g. *talâchar* for thirteen), it does not escape the usual weaknesses of its kind, such as failure to discriminate *d* from *ḍ*, *t* from *ṭ*, *r* from *gh*, etc., and to indicate the main stresses in words and sentences. A more peculiar feature is the replacement of *hamza* by a long vowel even when representing *q*; surely no Egyptian ever pronounces, for example, "heart" and "neck" as *ālb* and *ra-ābah*.

H. A. R. GIBB.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE POLICY OF THE MANDATORY GOVERNMENT OF PALESTINE. By J. H. KANN. pp. 60. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1930. 2*s*. 6*d*.

An able exposition of the Jewish case by a former member of the Zionist organization and ex-consul of Holland in Jerusalem.

H. A. R. G.

FALAKĪ-I-SHIRWĀNĪ DĪWĀN. Edited by HĀDĪ ḤASAN, Ph.D. James G. Forlong Fund, Vol. IX. London: Royal Asiatic Society. 1929. 10s.

This volume, containing the Persian text (about 1,200 verses) of the *Dīwān* of Falakī, with critical and explanatory notes, forms the second and final part of Dr. Hādī Ḥasan's edition; the first part, which comprises an excellent account of the poet's times, life, and works, the sources of the text, etc., appeared as vol. vi of the Forlong Fund Publications and was reviewed by the present writer in the January issue of the *Journal*, p. 126 f. Falakī, as might be expected from a pupil of Khāqānī, employs an extremely artificial and allusive style, and the ingenious, far-fetched and elaborate conceits with which his panegyrics are crowded call for a corresponding amount of brainwork on the part of the reader. Few would care to make the effort, even if they possessed the learning and acumen necessary for solving puzzles of this sort. The poet, however, has found an editor who fully appreciates him and spares no pains to make him intelligible. Dr. Ḥasan proves himself to be an accomplished critic. The text, based almost entirely on the Munich MS., has been judiciously emended, and the obscure verses are, as a rule, either translated or explained by means of notes and reference to passages in other works. There is much to interest students of the Persian *ars poetica* as well as lexicographers, including a list of rare or technical words which occur in the *Dīwān*. Falakī justifies his pen-name by showing a particular fondness for astronomical and astrological terms.

Sir E. Denison Ross, who contributes a Foreword to the volume and is responsible for its publication, is to be congratulated on the attractive form in which it appears. His description of the editor's manuscript as exceptionally beautiful and accurate applies in almost equal measure to the photographic reproduction. The writing is small and after a time puts some strain on the eye; here and there a letter has dropped out or a word is indistinct; but these are draw-

backs that hardly count in the balance. I have noticed a few misspellings, e.g. Saggitarius for Sagittarius (v. 492) and 'Amārah for 'Umārah (v. 1075). In v. 333 the editor retains متهم, the reading of all texts, explaining it as formed by metathesis from مهتم. This is objectionable for more reasons than one. A passive participle seems to be required, and I suggest مهتم as a likely emendation. جعفر (v. 783) probably denotes the Caliph Mutawakkil.

R. A. N.

A TREATISE ON THE CANON OF MEDICINE OF AVICENNA INCORPORATING A TRANSLATION OF THE FIRST BOOK. By O. CAMERON GRUNER, M.D. (Lond.). 9½ × 6, pp. 612. London: Luzac & Co., 1930. Price £2 2s.

Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusain ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Sīnā, commonly known in the west as Avicenna, poet, philosopher, and physician, was born near Bukhārā in A.D. 980 and died at Hamadān or Iṣfahān in 1037. Of his medical works the Qānūn is by far the largest and most famous; and as the present author reminds us, the work is a *précis*, and not a sum-total of Avicenna's knowledge—a series of notes or skeleton outlines of thought not too lengthy to be memorized by his students, much as they would memorize the Quran. Its use, in a Latin translation, spread through the west, where it was adopted in the schools and remained the standard textbook of medicine even until about 1650. The first of the five books of this work, of such exceptional historical interest, has now been translated into English; and orientalists, historians, and medical men must alike be grateful to Dr. Gruner for undertaking what cannot have been an easy task.

A "Preliminary Thesis" deals with the Qānūn in relation to modern thought; the opinion is expressed that ideas are to be found therein which provide suggestions for useful research in the future (p. 1) and that "its possibilities for

suggesting thoughts of real value to-day are more realized the more one reads 'between the lines'" (p. 7). The basic differences between the Qānūn and modern medicine are tabulated (p. 8); Avicenna's and all ancient medicine, "is intimately bound up with philosophy, to wit, *that of human nature*"—a philosophy which proves to be virtually identical with modern scholastic philosophy; while Modern Medicine "assuming the title and rank of a positive science, emphatically discards and excludes" philosophy (p. 9). It is apparently the author's view that psychology, which seems to be considered as a part of philosophy, being "the science which treats of the soul and its operations", must therefore clearly be the real foundation of medicine. Modern scholastic philosophy, the queen of all the sciences, amply proves positivist science (including Medicine) to be incomplete knowledge when taken alone; but when Medicine has become ennobled by being linked with philosophy it reaches its highest degree of perfection (p. 10).

In the translation itself four sub-sections of the text are omitted—those dealing with the anatomy of the bones, muscles, nerves, and blood-vessels, which "are naturally inadequate in comparison with modern Anatomy"; and the Libellus on the Powers of the Heart ("De viribus cordis"), of which the real authorship is disputed, which Arnold of Villanova translated into Latin, and which is found in the 1595 Latin edition of the Qānūn, is included. The translation is given in large type, and in smaller type is an interspersed commentary with separate paragraphing, in which the author gives parallels from the classics, from the Chinese, and from other medieval authors, with references to modern practice; the commentary sometimes runs to a considerable excursus, as for example that on the Chinese system of sphygmology (pulse-science).

The first book of the Qānūn (that which is here translated) deals with general matters relative to the science of Medicine, comprising: (1) The definition and scope of Medicine; Health. Here comes the consideration, among other topics, of the temperaments and constitutions, the fluids of the body,

the members (bones, muscles, nerves, arteries, veins). (2) The classification of diseases, their causes and symptoms. Under the causes, such things as atmospheric and seasonal influences, winds, localities, food and drink, are discussed; under symptoms, the evidences of ill-health in the pulse, urine, and faeces. (3) The preservation of health, and regiminal treatment, comprising the regimen (exercise, bathing, dietetics, etc.) appropriate to the several ages, to the various constitutions and habits of body, and to the several seasons. (4) The treatment of disease; the classification of the modes of treatment in general (general therapeutics), including such topics as evacuant and derivative treatment, purgation, emesis, cupping, venesection, leeches; minor surgery; the relief of pain.

The contents of the other books, not here translated, may be briefly indicated. In Book II, Materia Medica, Pharmacology and Therapeutics; General Principles, and then the properties of each drug (802 in number) taken seriatim. In III, Special Pathology of the various systems; the diseases to which each is liable are discussed, their etiology, symptoms, diagnosis, prognosis and treatment (the section on the Eye has been translated into German). In Book IV, Fever, Minor Surgery, Poisoning, and Beauty Culture are treated; and in V the Formulary is given—recipes, and details of their preparation (this book has been translated into German).

It is impossible to do justice to the interest of the volume without giving one or two illustrative extracts :—

"It is a bad practice to sleep on the back. It courts the development of grave maladies like apoplexy, paralysis, and nightmare, because the effete matters then tend to accumulate in the tissues of the back, where they are held and prevented from entering the natural channels—which are in front, like the nostrils and palate. Persons who are accustomed to sleep on their backs often become debilitated, for their muscles and members become weakened; also because one side cannot alternate with the other, seeing that such persons quickly return to the supine position, the back being more powerful than the sides. The consequence is that such persons sleep with their mouths

open, for the muscles which keep the jaws closed are too weak to maintain them in that position" (p. 419).

"When you do not know the nature of a malady, leave it to Nature; do not strive to hasten matters. For either Nature will bring about the cure or it will reveal itself clearly what the malady really is" (p. 468).

(From the section on the Regimen suitable to Travellers.) "A person may have to fast so long that the appetite is lost. To aid one in submitting to this, the following are useful: cold foods prepared from roast livers and the like, pills prepared with viscid or glutinous substances, strong fluid fats, almonds, and olive oil. Certain fats like that of beef will stave off the feeling of hunger for a long time. There is a story of a man having swallowed a pound (12 oz.) of oil of violets in which fat had been dissolved until the oil was of the consistence of a plaster; he is said to have been free of desire for food for ten days."

Or one might instance the section on venesection (pp. 501 *sqq.*).

There are, however, a few criticisms which must be made. The translation "is based on the Latin versions published at Venice in 1598 and 1608, supported by a study of the Arabic edition printed at Rome in 1593 and the Bulaq edition." The author admits that, in Browne's words, "the Latin Qanun swarms with barbarous words which are not merely transcriptions but in many cases almost unrecognizable mistranscriptions of Arabic originals"; the method of translation appears to have been a slavish and literal adherence to the original, the obscurity being such as would result from rendering idiomatic French word for word into English; as Browne says, "many passages in the Latin version of the Qanun of Avicenna were misunderstood or not understood at all by the translator, and consequently can never have conveyed a clear idea to the reader." Whether or not, as Dr. Gruner says, these criticisms are inapplicable to Vol. I (? = Book I) of the original, it seems unfortunate that he did not utilize the Arabic original instead of the Latin version as the basis of his translation; his knowledge of Arabic is apparently adequate, and he has studied the original text; apart altogether from the grave possibility of error, it would

seem to be mere waste of labour, in these circumstances, to endeavour to get at the meaning of the Latin.

Again, the author seems in some degree to misunderstand the value of his work—though this does not detract from its *real* value in the least. From what has been said above concerning his Preliminary Thesis, and from the fact that he has omitted the anatomy of the bones, muscles, etc. (since these sections are inadequate in the light of modern knowledge), it appears that he views the Qānūn as valuable to-day in the utilitarian sense. But surely the importance—the primary importance, at least—of the work is historical; as the publishers say on the "jacket", the "general reader is enabled for the first time to become directly acquainted with the outlook of a thousand years ago upon the nature of the human body, of health and disease, as expounded by the world-renowned sage of Persia." The book gives a wonderful exposition of the best medical science of a remarkable era; it helps us to understand the course taken by human thought, to follow it in its development through the ages, to work out a more adequate picture of its evolution; it is a valuable contribution to the still too much neglected history of science, a branch of knowledge (a "discipline") as interesting and as important as the history of art, of philosophy, of religion.

The book is not free from signs of carelessness, e.g. "apologium," "scotomia," "tassawuf," "the body is admittedly 95 per cent. water" (we may interpret in another sense than that intended by the author the mark of exclamation which he appends to this statement); long vowels are sometimes, though seldom, marked, and diacritical points rarely used; the spellings "Quran" and "Koran" occur on the same page. The chapter headings are copied or adapted from Arabic and Persian sources, and it gives an effect of incongruity to plant on them letters of the Latin alphabet.

One sentence it is hard to forgive: "The proper use of the theory of evolution in comparative anatomy . . . is that it enables many discrete facts to be memorized" (p. 103). And the use of the facts, when they have been memorized, or otherwise made available? Surely such facts are nothing

in themselves; their use is to help to establish generalizations (of which the doctrine of evolution is one of the greatest) which increase our knowledge of the scheme of the universe, which allow us to contemplate it with greater understanding and therefore greater delight, and which give us clues to enable us to penetrate further the mysteries of nature. But that a scientific training should have left the author with so little comprehension of the meaning of science that he can suppose the use of the theory of evolution to be to facilitate the memorization of certain discrete facts!

I have spoken with some freedom of what I conceive to be the defects of the work. Let me, however, say again in conclusion that Avicenna's work as here reproduced is of extraordinary interest and value, and that Dr. Gruner's labours will be appreciated alike by the historian of science, the orientalist, and the philosophic physician. It is earnestly to be hoped that he will obtain the renewed thanks of all these by proceeding with the translation from the Arabic text of the remaining books of the Qānūn.

J. STEPHENSON.

A CRITICAL PALI DICTIONARY, begun by V. TRENCKNER, revised, continued, and edited by D. ANDERSEN and HELMER SMITH. Vol. I, pt. i. 12 × 10, pp. xxii + 42. Published by the Royal Danish Academy. Copenhagen, 1924–6.

CŪLAVAṂSA, being the more recent part of the Mahāvaṃsa. Part i. Translated by W. GEIGER, and from the German into English by Mrs. C. MABEL RICKMERS. Pali Text Society. Translation Series, No. 18. 9 × 6, pp. xlii + 362. London: H. Milford, 1929.

THE BOOK OF THE KINDRED SAYINGS (SAṂYUTTA NIKĀYA). Pt. v. Translated by F. L. WOODWARD, with an Introduction by Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS. Pali Text Society. Translation Series, No. 16. 9 × 6, pp. xxiv + 412. London: The Oxford University Press, 1930.

When two Pāli dictionaries begin to appear within three years of each other, comparison, however odious it may be,

is inevitable. The Pali Text Society's Dictionary claimed to be essentially preliminary, so that the appearance of a critical Pāli dictionary, as this claims to be, was to be expected. It will be sufficient to notice three points of difference. The forty-two (rather smaller) pages of this fasciculus correspond to ten in the P.T.S. dictionary, but it is in this section where many of the negatives in *a-* occur, and here they are treated more fully, so that the same difference in extent may not continue all through. Anyone who remembers the criticism in these pages of the etymological part of the P.T.S. dictionary will be glad to see that there is no waste of space here. Little is given beyond a reference to a corresponding Sanskrit form and the analysis of compounds. Another special feature is that it includes proper names.

It is scarcely necessary to do more than give a hearty welcome to the new instalment of Dr. Geiger's translation of the *Mahāvaṃsa*. This later portion, which chiefly for practical reasons he calls the *Cūlavaṃsa*, consists of five additions, of varying literary quality. Not only has Mrs. Rickmers carried out Dr. Geiger's principles and ideals, but she has produced a masterly English version. The introduction deals with several interesting questions and explanations of technical terms, but for a general discussion of this portion we have to refer to Dr. Geiger's edition of the text.

The translators of the *Saṃyutta* are to be congratulated on the completion of their work. Mr. Woodward is no doubt right in rejecting traditional modes of translating special terms, but he is not likely to find general approval for many of his own. He has already begun to disapprove of some of them himself, for he tells us that he has not felt bound to follow even those that he has generally used in other volumes. Mrs. Rhys Davids' introduction deals with the structure of this Nikāya, with the question of substituting "Way" for "Path", and with points of historical interest.

E. J. THOMAS.

Indica

By L. D. Barnett

1. Greater India Society Publication No. 2. Hindu Law and Custom. By Julius Jolly. Authorised translation by Batakrishna Ghosh. $10 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xi + 341 + vii + i. Calcutta, 1928.
2. Publication No. 3. Social Life in Ancient India: Studies in Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra. By Haran Chandra Chakladar. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. i + ii + 212. Calcutta, 1929.
3. Greater India Society Bulletin No. 4. India and Central Asia. By Dr. Niranjan Prasad Chakravarti. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 44. Calcutta, 1927.
4. Bulletin No. 5. Ancient Indian Culture in Afghanistan. By Dr. Upendra Nath Ghoshal. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 38 + iv. Calcutta, 1928.

Professor Jolly's masterly *Recht und Sitte*, which saw the light in Bühler's *Grundriss* in 1896, is still and will long remain the chief basis of the study of ancient Hindu law; and therefore the Greater India Society and Mr. Ghosh deserve much gratitude for the service which they have rendered to the English-speaking world by producing this translation. Mr. Ghosh has also added a number of footnotes of his own, some of them of considerable value. For a young scholar, he has on the whole acquitted himself of his heavy task very well. It must, however, be confessed that the English of his version is sometimes rather laboured, as might be expected of one who is translating from a foreign tongue into a language not quite his own. The punctuation, too, is far from satisfactory, mainly in the matter of omissions of necessary commas, and there are not a few minor inexactitudes in the rendering of the German.[1] The usefulness of the book would also have

[1] Examples are: "overwhelming" for "überwiegend", and "history of customs" for "Sittengeschichte" (p. 1); "found" for "angeführt", and "home" for "ansässig" (p. 4); "codified" for "zu litterarischer Fixirung gelangt", and "elaborate" for "weitgehende" (p. 263); "penal

been greatly increased if Mr. Ghosh had included in it a bibliography brought up to date.

Of the value of Vātsyāyana's *Kāma-sūtra* there can be no question. Not only does he mercilessly put on record every phase of sexual relations, licit and illicit, which could be discovered by a wide survey of mankind and books, but he also gives us a lively picture of the social circumstances of his age which is a first-class document of *Sittengeschichte*. He is thus fully worthy of the scholarly study which is here dedicated to his work. Mr. Chakladar in the first place attempts to determine the date of the *Kāma-sūtra*, which he fixes as about the middle of the third century A.D. on grounds which, though not wholly convincing, seem to me to fit the facts better than any other hypothesis yet advanced. He then considers the geographical data of the book, which lead him to conclude that Vātsyāyana was a native of Western India; and the rest of the volume—more than half of it—is devoted to a study of the social life depicted in the *Kāma-sūtra*, under the headings "Castes and Occupations", "Marriage and Courtship," "Life of the Nāgaraka," "The Position of Women," and "Arts and Crafts". In his treatment generally Mr. Chakladar happily unites erudition with judgment and has given us a really useful book. On some minor points, of course, one may venture to differ from him. Not to mention his perhaps excessive confidence in the Mauryan date of the *Kāuṭilīya* and the legend of Bhāsa, I would suggest with due diffidence that he may perhaps be mistaken in separating Śvētakētu, "the mythical reformer of primitive society" mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* from Śvētakētu Āruṇēya of the Upaniṣads (p. 38): the two accounts indeed differ widely,

laws" for "das weltliche Strafrecht", and "ingeniously" for "wahrscheinlich" (p. 284); "courtiers" for "Beisitzer" (p. 286). I may add that the translator's reference in his note on p. 225 to the ingenious Mr. Jayaswal's theory that "Hindu jurists and law-givers never considered the king to be lord of the earth" is not very happy; and his spelling *hūlbs* repeatedly on p. 113 f. is a striking example of the deplorable tendency apparently innate in all Bengalis to confuse short and long *u*.

but that is merely because the *Mbh.* represents a popular and less authentic tradition, and the facts stated on p. 7 ff. indicate that they have something like a point of contact. Perhaps, too, I may be allowed to dissent from his description of the *Kāma-sūtra* as " a beautifully vivid picture " of society and from his estimate of Vātsyāyana's ethos. Vivid the book is, but beauty has no place in its vividness. In Vātsyāyana's analysis of human passions and motives there is something of Jonathan Swift's ruthless exactitude of cynical realism: what, for instance, could be more like Swift than the biting phrase that concludes the description of the girl dressed up and paraded by her family to catch a suitor, " for she is like an article for sale," *paṇya-sadharmatvāt* ? His smug self-justification too smacks of irony: with a wink in his eye he assumes the attitude of an ancient *ṛṣi* like Śvētakētu, but the pose need not deceive us.

The Bulletins are really good little summaries of their subjects. Dr. Chakravarti gives us a very useful *Überblick* of the history of Central Asia, the modern explorations of it, and the marvellous finds of manuscripts of literary works and official documents through which those dreary regions have become more precious to the scholar than the golden sands of classical legend, while Dr. Ghoshal's contribution briefly surveys the historical relations of Afghanistan with India, with passing references to such cultural documents as e.g. Indo-Greek coinages, inscriptions, and Buddhist *stūpas* and monasteries, especially the grottos of Bamyan with their beautiful frescos.

5. TRILÔCHANA PALLAVA AND KARIKÂLA CHÔLA. By N. VENKATA RAMANAYYA. $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, pp. i + i + 120. Madras: Vavilla Press, 1929.

This monograph, though small in bulk and somewhat defective in the matter of typographic exactitude, handles an important problem with much ingenuity and considerable success. In early Southern Indian records the student is often confronted by the figure of Trilōcana Pallava—in

Telugu, Mukkaṇṭi Kāḍuveṭṭi—a mysterious personage whose date and doings are equally uncertain, and whose very existence has been questioned. Mr. Venkataramanayya has now set himself the task of examining the evidence bearing upon him and his traditional rival Karikālan, in order to extract thence whatever elements of historicity may be underlying it, and to this end has drawn upon numerous village-chronicles, inscriptions, and literary references, with very interesting results, of which the most important may be thus summarised. T. was an illegitimate Pallava usurper who reigned about the end of the fifth century in Kāñci, which was wrested from him by the victorious Cōḷas under Karikālan. He then re-treated into Telingana, where he established his capital at Dharaṇīkōṭa; and here he still suffered from the aggressions of K., who annexed large districts of his realm, including Rēnāḍu (the modern Cuddapah and Karnul districts). The well-known story of the poets that he had a third eye which in some mysterious manner was destroyed by K. as a punishment for his refusal to help in the work of building an embankment to the Kaveri arose perhaps from a blunder in engraving the formal phrase applied to K. in the records of Telugu Cōḷas, *caraṇa-sarōruha-vihita-vilōcana-Trilōcana*, " T. whose gaze was fixed upon K.'s lotus-feet ": *vihita* was wrongly written *vihata*, and to explain this the story was concocted. The tradition that T. defeated and slew in battle the Caḷukya Vijayâditya [I] is true, despite the silence of the early Caḷukyan records, for the order of succession given by the oldest Western Caḷukyan documents, viz. Jayasiṃha → Raṇarāga → Pulakēsi I, may be equated with that set forth in the records of the Eastern Caḷukyas, scil. Viṣṇuvardhana → Vijayāditya [II] → Pulakēsi I, so that Vijayāditya [II] is to be identified with Raṇarāga.[1] The war

[1] The case is not fully developed by Mr. Venkataramanayya, and I take the opportunity to state some of the evidence in more detail. What Dr. Fleet rather sceptically calls the " legendary history " of the early Caḷukyas (*DKD.*, p. 338 f.) is conveyed in two versions, that of the Eastern

and that of the Western Calukyas. The former (see *EI.* vi, p. 348, and reff. there) gives the sequence of kings thus: Vijayâditya I, who attacked Trilōcana Pallava and perished; his son Viṣṇuvardhana, who conquered the Kaḍambas, Gaṅgas, etc., and reigned in the Dekhan; his son Vijayâditya II; his son Pulakēsi I. Of the Western records the majority (cf. *EI.* xii, p. 149 f. and reff. there) repeat a common tale; they begin by describing the Calukya race as *Viṣṇuvarddhana-Vijayâdityâdi-viśēṣa-nāmnām rāja-ratnānām udbhava-bhūmiḥ*, "a mine in which arose gem-like kings bearing the distinctive names *Viṣṇuvardhana*, *Vijayâditya* and the like", and then they give the well known story that fifty-nine kings of this family ruled in Ayōdhyā and sixteen in the Dekhan, after which its fortunes were obscured for a few generations, "checked by evil men," but were restored by Jayasiṃha, who defeated the Raṭṭas under their king Indra, and was succeeded by his son, Raṇarāga, etc. In the unpublished Handarke inscription to which Dr. Fleet refers (p. 339), the relevant verses are as follows, according to Elliot's transcript: Bhuja-balada Viṣṇuvardhana-Vijayâdityâdi-viruddhan (*read* virudan) ene ripu-vanitâṃbuja-vanamaṃ koragisidaṃ nija-bāhā-daṃḍa-maṃḍalâgra-prabheyim || Jaya-lakṣmī-kāṃteyaṃ marcisi dhareyan Ayyōdhyâdhipaṃ (*read* Ayō°) saṃda Sattyâśrayan āḷdaṃ tan-nṛpāḷâgraṇi modal enal ēkōnaṣaṣṭi-pramaṃ *read* (kramaṃ) rūḍhiyoḷ ird' ā siṃha-pīṭhaṃgaḷoḷ arebar iḷapālar amd' ittam-ittal Jayasiṃhôrvîśan āḷdaṃ baḷikav iḷeyan ā ṣōḍaśôrvîśar āḷdar, the sum of which is that the poet, absurdly making Viṣṇuvardhana and Vijayâditya into one person and putting him at the head of the pedigree, places next fifty-nine kings beginning with Satyâśraya of Ayōdhyā, after whom came "a few" others, then Jayasiṃha, then "the sixteen monarchs". This account is very confused, but underlying it is the same story as that of the other Western records: the "sixteen monarchs" in either version have a suspicious look (sixteen is a canonical number for kings) and are certainly out of order in this record, while the ascription to Jayasiṃha of a victory over the Raṭṭas in the other documents is no doubt an anachronism, as Dr. Fleet thought. The essential points in the Western tradition are then: the occurrence of the names *Viṣṇ.* and *Vij.*; fifty-nine kings of the race in Ayōdhyā with Satyâśraya at the top or near it, and sixteen in the Dekhan; an obscuration in their fortunes lasting a few generations; a restoration by Jayasiṃha; and a continuance of prosperity under his son, Raṇarāga (a *biruda*, and not a proper name). Apparently tradition placed the names of Viṣṇ. and Vij. at the head of the pedigree, but was doubtful as to their proper place in it. It seems very reasonable to suppose that the Eastern and Western accounts supplement one another, and that the disastrous end of Vijayâditya I and temporary ruin of his realm was a chapter, perhaps the last chapter, in the period of obscuration which the Western records describe as having occurred shortly before the rise of Jayasiṃha. Hence it is permissible as a conjecture to identify Jayasiṃha with Viṣṇuvardhana and Raṇarāga with Vijayâditya II, especially as the Eastern version seems to give a plausible explanation of the rise of Viṣṇ. by successes over the Kaḍambas and Gaṅgas, for whom Western tradition in the tenth century by a natural anachronism substituted the Raṭṭas.

against Vijayâditya was probably an incident in the course of the traditional policy of the Pallavas in regard to Kuntaḷa, which under the Kaḍamba Mayūra and his immediate successors was a fief of their empire: Vijayâditya was a somewhat insignificant adventurer who threatened to raise trouble for them on their western marches by his aggressions upon the Kaḍambas, and was therefore suppressed.

In this conjectural restoration of the history of the period some of the materials employed in the edifice are perhaps not too solid; others however are really sound, and the structure on the whole is not only skilfully built up, but in my opinion can claim reasonable probability. As one of its main conclusions, that Karikālan captured Kāñci about A.D. 500, agrees with the result of Mr. K. G. Śankar's recent study on 'The Early Pallavas of Kāñci', where the subject is approached from another point of view, the coincidence distinctly tends to corroborate it.

6. THE VIKRAMORVASIYA OF KALIDASA with KATAYAVEMA'S Commentary, the Kumaragirirajiya for the first time critically edited with a literal English translation, an introduction, copious notes in Sanskrit and English and a comprehensive vocabulary by CHARU DEVA SHASTRI, M.A., M.O.L. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, pp. ii + xxvi + 122 + 105 + xxxii. Lahore: 1929.

The Śāstrī's work is on the whole useful and meritorious. But the words "for the first time critically edited" on the title-page, which may mean that this is the first critical edition of both the play and the commentary, are somewhat misleading. This is the first appearance in print of the whole of Kāṭaya-Vēma's commentary—a helpful and sensible one—and the Śāstrī has edited it as critically as the rather limited materials at his disposal permit. The text of the play, however, has been handled in a rather eclectic fashion. The Śāstrī has based it upon that of S. P. Pandit, but in a number of passages he has adopted the variant readings given by

K.-V.'s commentary. Now if the recension used (or prepared ?) by K.-V. is superior to that of Pandit, it should logically be followed through thick and thin; for an editor to select some variants that take his fancy, while rejecting others offered by the same recension, is arbitrary. Nor is it clear to me that all the variants adopted here from K.-V. are intrinsically better than Pandit's text. In i, 11, the Śāstrī reads with K.-V. *aṅkuritamanōbhavēnêva* instead of *aṅkuritaṃ manasijēnêva*, but I see no force in his argument for the change. In iii, 14, the old reading *kartum* ("you have power to give me away to another or to make me your slave") is as good as the new *hartum*; *bhartum*, the reading of one MS. of K.-V. which the Śāstrī rejects, would also give a good sense. In iii, 22, the new reading *śataguṇitām iva mē gatā* seems to be wrong, for grammar calls for *śataguṇatām*, and anyhow there is no great gain. The change of *gaganam* to *gahanam* in iv, 34, is to the good; but the alteration of *prahartur dviṣad-āyuṣām* in v, 7, to *saṃhartur dvi°* is no improvement, as a study of the P.W. will show. Apart from these critical questions the book is to be commended as a capable piece of work which will be distinctly useful for educational purposes.

7. SARVA-SIDDHANTA-SAMGRAHA. Critically edited, translated and annotated by PREM SUNDAR BOSE. 2 vols. 7⅜ × 5, pp. 80 + ii + 98. Calcutta: Navavidhan Press, 1929.

The *Sarva-siddhānta-saṃgraha* is a little work of some importance, for it is, next to Haribhadra's *Ṣaḍ-darśana-samuccaya* (ninth century), the oldest extant survey of the various schools of philosophy, antedating by some centuries Mādhava's more famous work, which is composed from a far more scholastic standpoint. As it is silent anent the church of Rāmânuja, while eager to maintain the supremacy of Viṣṇu,[1] it cannot well be later than the eleventh century.

[1] The author, a Vāiṣṇava who combines *bhakti* with Vedantic monism, has clumsily tacked references to these to his exposition of Śāiva Nyāya (40, 43), and calls the Supreme Being *Gōvinda* (*Vēdānta-p°*, 51).

On the other hand, it refers to Śaṅkarâcārya's *Śārīraka-bhāṣya* in i, 22, where it speaks of a Vedantic "*bhāṣya* in four *adhyāyas* composed by the Bhagavat-pāda", and it likewise mentions the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. Hence it cannot be earlier than c. 950 A.D. An edition with commentary and English translation was published in 1909 at Madras by the late M. Rangacharya, a second with Telugu translation in the series *Vēdânta-grantha-māla* published by Nāgaliṅga Śāstrī, at Madras in 1911–12, and a third with Bengali interpretation by Pramathanātha Tarkabhūṣaṇa and Akṣayakumāra Śāstrī at Calcutta in 1913; the chapters on Buddhism have been edited and translated by Professor La Vallée Poussin in *Le Muséon*, iii (1902), p. 402 ff. Mr. Bose now gives us a new edition with a translation and some brief notes, which is handy and likely to be useful. The justice of his claim to have edited it "critically" is not very clear: he does not seem to have had at his disposal any MSS. or critical material other than what is contained in Rangacharya's book, and he contributes a few misprints of his own (e.g. *sā gṛhyēta* for *sā ca gṛhyēta*, p. 11, *pramāṇaś ca* for *pramāṇaṃ ca*, p. 26). The translation is on the whole fairly adequate, while the notes are sound so far as they go, but do not go far enough to satisfy even a moderate hunger for information as to the history of Indian thought. Mr. Bose is likewise most unfortunate in his argument on the authorship of the work (Transl. and notes, p. 75). He admits that its reference to "the *bhāṣya* in four *adhyāyas*, composed by the Bhagavat-pāda", naturally points to Śaṅkarâcārya's *bhāṣya*; and then by a curious process of reasoning, in order to bolster up the futile legend which attributes the present book to Śaṅkarâcārya, he comes to the conclusion "that the author of this work is some *Śaṃkarācārya* other than the great *advaita* protagonist", much as another sage decided that the poems of Homer were "written by another fellow of the same name". But these minor defects need not be scrutinised too closely.

8. SURVIVAL OF THE PREHISTORIC CIVILIZATION OF THE INDUS VALLEY. By RAMAPRASAD CHANDA, M.A., F.A.S.B., Rai Bahadur. (Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 41.) 13 × 10, pp. i + i + 40, 2 plates. Calcutta: Government of India Central Publication Branch, 1929.

This is an able and arresting monograph, although it does not carry conviction on all points. The author's main conclusions are that (1) the Ṛgvēda reflects a comparatively peaceful state of society, far advanced in the fusion of Āryas and Śūdras; (2) the rigidity of caste-divisions in India is due to the fundamental distinction between king and priest, which is almost unparalleled in antiquity, and suggests that the Vedic Ṛṣis with their doctrines and rites were alien in origin to the kings and peoples of North-Western India who adopted them; (3) there was a radical difference of mentality between Brahman and Kṣatriya, particularly evidenced in their attitude towards human sacrifice and *satī*, rites which originally were peculiar to the Kṣatriyas and lower castes, while the Brahmans only practised symbolic simulacra of them until comparatively late times; (4) on the eve of the Aryan immigration the Indus Valley was inhabited by a civilised and warlike people; the Aryans, mainly represented by the clans of Ṛṣis, entered in small numbers and chiefly as missionaries of the Vedic cults and settled down peacefully under the protection of the native kings, who adopted their religion; the warrior-clans of the Ṛgvēda (Bharatas, Yadus, etc.) were the ruling classes in the indigenous population of the Indus Valley; (5) a link between Vedic traditions and the chalcolithic civilisation of the Indus Valley is suggested by the heads of the stone statuettes found at Mohenjo-daro, which represent priests or magicians in a pose of *dhyāna-yōga*; the *Yōga* arose among the non-Brahmanic or pre-Aryan peoples of the Indus Valley, and was originally alien to Brahmans; (6) the *Yatis* mentioned in Vedic literature were the priests or magicians of the

indigenous population, practising *yōga* and mortifications (*tapas*); they were eclipsed by the Vedic Ṛṣis and sank in social status, emerging in later Vedic literature under the name of *Vrātyas*; ultimately they made their way back into popular favour and became the parents of the Brahmanic *sannyāsīs* and non-Brahmanic *śramaṇas*; (7) Mohenjo-daro had the same cult of the *pīpal*-tree as classical India, and its animal-standards survived on the Mauryan columns.

The fourth thesis in its present form seems untenable, for it entails insuperable difficulties, on which space forbids us to dwell. The explanation of the rigidity of caste is ingenious, and possibly may contain some elements of truth: others also have suggested a difference of race between Kṣatriyas and Brahmans. But the supposed difficulty of explaining this rigidity is perhaps a skittle which the author has only set up to knock down. Senart's classical work really disposes of it to a great extent. The first and third points, though they need fuller discussion and some amendment, are far sounder; and the author's views on the Yatis and Vrātyas are perhaps not very far from the truth, though they also call for some reservations. Finally, we would remark that the finds at Mohenjo-daro certainly do not bear out the contention that the people of the Indus Valley were warlike.

9. UDAIPUR-RĀJYA-KĀ ITIHĀS. [History of the Kingdom of Udaipur.] By RĀI BAHĀDUR GAURĪŚAṄKAR HĪRĀCAND OJHĀ. Vol. i. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xxviii + 506, 31 plates. Ajmer: Vedic Press, 1985 [1928].

This massive work is indeed a labour of love. The Rajputs are the accepted models of Hindu chivalry; and among them the Rajputs of Udaipur are pre-eminent as *kṣatrasya kṣatram*, the quintessence of the knightly order. The lineage of their Mahārāṇā, the "Sun of India", is traced back to the year 568, and it is their proud boast never to have bowed the head in the courts of alien conquerors. Such a history

naturally inspires enthusiasm: an abundance of poems, bardic legends, and above all Tod's great work bear witness to the abiding fascination of these κλέα ἀνδρῶν. And now, warmed by the same fire, Rāi Bahādur Ojhā has devoted to the same theme his vast knowledge of local literature, antiquities, and legend, which has enabled him to give a really full and adequate presentation of it.

The book, however, is not merely a history, although historical narrative occupies by far the greater portion of it. The opening chapter (pp. 1–64) is a useful and reliable gazetteer of information regarding the geography, material, and social conditions, populations, religions, dress, institutions, and places of note in the State. Then follows the historical portion, which, after dealing briefly with mythical and semi-mythical ages, traces the course of events from the beginnings of documented history in the sixth century, dividing itself into three periods, of which the first extends from the reign of Guhiladatta to that of Ratnasiṃha I, the second from Hammīra to Sāṅgā (Saṅgrāmasiṃha), and the third from Ratnasiṃha II to the death of Amarasiṃha in 1620; and some interesting pictures of famous Mahārāṇās and others are reproduced. The next volume will deal with modern times. It is the reviewer's pleasant duty to felicitate the author on having accomplished so much, and to express the hope that an English translation will be forthcoming for the benefit of those who cannot read Hindi.

10. Beginnings of Vijayanagara History. By the Rev. H. Heras, S.J., M.A. (Studies in Indian History of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, No. 4.) 7¾ × 6, pp. viii + 144. Bombay: Anand printed, 1929.

The writings of Father Heras are always replete with interesting and original thought, and this little book, which embodies two lectures delivered in the University of Mysore, will amply repay study. In its first part the author examines

the legendary traditions and the documentary evidence relating to the foundation of Vijayanagara, whence he educes as his main conclusions that (1) the tradition which makes Vidyāraṇya concerned in the foundation of the city and the coronation of Harihara I is a fiction concocted in the Sringeri monastery early in the sixteenth century, probably in the pontificate of Rāmacandra Bhāratī, and that the original name of the city was Vijayanagara, not Vidyānagara, and that (2) it was built in or shortly after 1326 by the Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa III, to protect his frontier against the aggressions of the Sultan of Delhi. The second part is concerned with the origin of the first rulers of Vijayanagara, their supposed relationship to the family of Kēsirāja, their connection with the Hoysaḷas, and their victories in Telingana.

Most critical readers, we believe, will approve the author's spirited attack on the Vidyāraṇya-myth, and will admit that his hypothesis of the foundation or re-establishment of the city by Ballāḷa III has much in its favour.[1] On some minor points—e.g. the alleged kinship between Saṅgama's family and that of Kēsirāja [2]—he is less convincing; and, owing doubtless to haste in preparation and proof-correction, some small errors of matter and spelling have crept into the text. The index also, which is the work of Mr. G. M. Moraes, is not as good as it might be. Nevertheless, the book is certainly *bonæ frugis*, and makes valuable contributions to the history of Vijayanagara.

[1] On the other hand there are some reasons for holding the opposite view, on which the reader may profitably consult Mr. Venkataramanayya's *Kampili and Vijayanagar*.

[2] Another point—of no importance, it is true—arises from the name of the first four kings given by Nuniz, viz. *Deorão*, *Bucarão*, *Pureoyre Deorão*, and *Ajarão*, whom Father Heras would equate respectively with an unknown king, Harihara I, Bukka I, and Harihara II. It seems to me that this is impossible, and that Nuniz simply blundered; his "Deorão" (i.e. Dēvarāya) is Harihara II, his "Pureoyre Deorão" (scil. Piriya Dēvarāya) is Harihara I, his "Bucarão" is of course Bukka I, and why he called Bukka II "Ajarão" is a mystery. If, as I suppose, he inverted the order of the two Hariharas, we can understand his statement that "Pureoyre Deorão" first struck coins in Vijayanagara.

11. THE INSCRIPTIONS OF NAGAI. [Edited and translated, etc., by C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU.] (Hyderabad Archæological Series, No. 8.) 12¼ × 9¾, pp. vi, + 60 + 8 plates. Hyderabad, Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press printed, 1928.

The village of Nagai, anciently Nāgavāpī, contains some traces of former importance, among them being some Kanarese inscriptions of the later Cāḷukya period, four of which are edited and translated with notes and index in the present monograph. They range in date from A.D. 1058 to 1148, and are of considerable length. Their purpose is, as usual, to register religious and charitable endowments; and although they do not add any very striking new facts to the pages of Cāḷukya history, they confirm previously known records on several points and contribute some fresh data of real value for the study of the language and culture of the time, one of the most interesting being the record of the endowment of a college for Sanskrit studies. Mr. Krishnamacharlu has done his work in a very competent manner; and if the reproductions of the inscriptions are not very legible, this is perhaps due to the decayed condition of the stones.

12. SOUTH-INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS. Vol. III, Part IV. Copper-plate grants from Sinnamanur, Tirukkalar, and Tiruchchengodu. . . . Edited and translated by RAO BAHADUR H. KRISHNA SASTRI, B.A. 12¼ × 10, pp. 441–80, 1–43, i–xvi, 1–22, 10 plates. Calcutta: Madras printed: Government of India Central Publication Branch, 1929.

The reader will open these pages with deep regret, for since they were penned the Rao Bahadur has passed away, at the comparatively early age of fifty-seven and a half years. A remarkably learned, laborious, and conscientious scholar, he has rendered yeoman's service to the study of South Indian epigraphy and antiquities, and he leaves an honoured memory.

The present part of the S.I.I. concludes the third volume

by treating the two Pāṇḍya copper-plate grants (the larger of Rājasiṃha III and the smaller of an unknown king) from Śinnamanūr, five Cōḷa grants (of Rājêndra I, Rājâdhirāja I, Kulôttuṅga I, Rājarāja II (?), and Rājarāja III) from Tirukkaḷar, and two of the same dynasty (of Rājakēsari-varman, probably Rājarāja I) from Tiruccengōḍu, together with an index to the whole volume, a list of plates, addenda and corrigenda, and an introduction mainly devoted to a survey of Cōḷa history as far as Rājêndra I. The historical value of the documents here published—especially the larger Śinnamanūr grant and the plate of Rājêndra—is already well known, and students will rejoice to see them edited and elucidated with the ripe scholarship which to the last characterised the work of the lamented Rao Bahadur. Recognition is due to the labours of Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar, who completed the volume by editing the minor Cōḷa grants, verifying the index of parts i–iii, adding to it the references to part iv and the introduction, preparing the addenda and corrigenda, and revising the proofs.

13. INSCRIPTIONS OF BENGAL. Vol. III. Containing Inscriptions of the Chandras, the Varmans, and the Senas, and of Īśvaraghosha and Dāmodara. Edited with translation and notes by NANI GOPAL MAJUMDAR, M.A. (Varendra Research Society.) 9¾ × 7½, pp. x + 200, 15 plates, 1 map. Rajshahi: Calcutta printed, 1929.

The Varendra Research Society, pursuing its laudable policy of encouraging historical studies, has projected the publication of three volumes of inscriptions of Bengal, of which this, though third in order of numeration, and dealing with the latest records, is the first to appear. The other two parts, comprising the inscriptions of the Gupta and Pāla dynasties respectively, will be issued in due course.

The documents here published are seventeen in number, viz., the two of Śrīcandra (late tenth or early eleventh century),

Bhōjavarman's Belava plate (twelfth century), Bhavadēva's Bhuvaneswar inscription (twelfth century ?), eleven records of the Sēnas, the Ramganj plate of Īśvaraghōṣa (late tenth century), and the Chittagong plate of Dāmōdara (Śaka 1165) —all of them important, and several of them supremely so, for the history of Bengal during this period. They are well printed and translated, with adequate introductions and appendices, which *inter alia* treat of six other cognate records, and with satisfactory facsimiles. The Society and Mr. Majumdar deserve well of Clio, and we hope soon to see the other volumes of this collection.

THE PANDYAN KINGDOM FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. By K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI. 9 × 6, pp. 277. London: Luzac & Co., 1929. Price 8*s*. 6*d*.

The Pāndyan Kingdom was courted by Aśoka; the Romans traded with it; over a thousand years later Marco Polo found it still flourishing. Merged for a while in the Chōḷa Empire, and again in that of Vijayanagar, the Pāṇḍyas were treated with marked respect by their suzerains; and played no small part in the overthrow of each in turn; for the Nāyaka Kingdom of Madura was but a revival of Pāndyan autonomy, and when, after its collapse in 1736, the British took charge, they found the national spirit unbroken.

Yet few details survive of this long history. To thread together the disjointed fragments of information that remains into "a continuous sketch on scientific lines" is no easy task.

Professor Nilakanta Sastri (who has recently been appointed to the chair of Indian History in the University of Madras) handles his material with judgment. Pāndyan inscriptions have been strangely neglected. Few only of those listed by the official Epigraphists have ever been critically edited, and the Professor has had to indent on an unpublished collection of Pudukkōṭṭai epigraphs and vols. iv to vi of

South Indian Inscriptions, bare texts the accuracy of which even their editor does not guarantee, a sorry sequel to the scholarly editing of the earlier volumes. The literary evidence the Professor treats with caution, and is not misled by "assumptions quietly made". For the "popular and confused chronicles" of the "Taylor MSS." he has little use.

Pāndyan history is marked by three periods of florescence, the Sangam Age and the First and Second "Empires".

The Sangam Age, for which only literary evidence is available, the Professor would place in the early centuries of the Christian era. For this he considers a strong *prima facie* case has been made out, though the evidence, he admits, is not conclusive.

For the First Empire (c. A.D. 700–900) the evidence is limited to four copper-plate grants and a few stone inscriptions, only two of which are dated. There seems no reason to suspect that these grants belong to different dynasties, but they refer to the several rulers by so many different names and titles that it is not easy to determine which is which. Professor Nilakanta Sastri short circuits the pedigree accepted by previous writers by equating the seventh and last ruler of the Vēḷvikuḍi grant with No. 4, Varaguṇa I Mahārāja, instead of No. 2, of the larger Śinnamanūr plates, thereby reducing the number of rulers of the "First Empire" from thirteen to eleven. This, if correct, makes a very fine man of Varaguṇa.

The Second Empire (c. 1190–1311) is represented by numberless inscriptions which prove that throughout the period several kings ruled concurrently, but give no hint as to the relationship subsisting between any two of them. Moreover, something seems to have gone wrong with the Pāndyan almanac, for details of dates given in many of these inscriptions fail to fit the requirements of a properly constructed calendar. In the effort to solve these puzzles free play has been made with the allusions of Marco Polo and others to the "Five Brothers" who ruled the Pāndyan

country, and "many kings have been made and unmade by hasty calculations and equally hasty corrections". The Professor wisely bases his account of this period on the dates established some years ago by the late Professor Kielhorn, with a few additions that have since been attested by independent evidence. With the Muhammadan invasions the main interest of his narrative ends.

In discussing Pāndyan administration, the author deprecates the practice of piecing together a composite picture from "diverse sources separated widely in time and space", and deals with the leading features of each period separately.

The book is well written and well printed. The author never gets lost in the mazes of controversy, yet he marshalls in full the evidence for both sides on every question, and when he differs from other writers, he does so without venom. A map would have been useful, and a numbered list of relevant inscriptions would lighten the labour of tracking down the unhandy references to forty odd annual epigraphic reports which somewhat clog the text and notes. It is rather strange that no mention is made (p. 176) of Pāndyan relations with the Sumatran Empire of Śri-Vijaya, and the Professor is certainly not justified (p. 197) in questioning Marco Polo's account (which he does not quote in full) of the scantiness of the King's costume. He would also do well to avoid the use of the vague word "uncle" (p. 148) of people whose system of kinship is "classificatory". But these are minor details. Professor Nilakanta Sastri is to be congratulated on this most scholarly and scientific contribution to South Indian research.

F. J. RICHARDS.

HINDU EXOGAMY. By S. V. KARANDIKAR, M.A. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xv + 308 Taraporevala & Sons, Bombay, 1929. Price Rs. 6.

Mr. Karandikar and the Senate of the Bombay University, who have contributed a part of the cost of publication, are

to be congratulated on the production of an interesting monograph dealing with the social exogamous restrictions on marriage among Hindus of all tribes and castes from Vedic times to the present day. The completion during recent years of numerous ethnographical works based on a common scheme of research offers to the student ample materials for a comparative study of marriage restrictions. Of these materials Mr. Karandikar has not been slow to take advantage. It is true that far the greater part of his book is devoted to the limitations imposed on the twice-born castes in accordance with Hindu scriptures. With these, including the origin of *gotra* and *pravara*, he deals very thoroughly; and the reader will learn how these restrictions have developed from the Vedas down to contemporary caste custom. *Sapinda* and *sagotra* exogamy are exhaustively and clearly described. The last 70 pages of the work are devoted to exogamy among the tribes and castes which Mr. Karandikar describes as of "non-Aryan culture". Here the materials available might have been more extensively drawn on with advantage; and it is suggested that the sequence followed should have been inverted, that is to say, that the practices of the lower tribes and castes would more conveniently form a suitable introduction to the study of Brahmanic practice. The close connection between the two forms of social culture is clearly apprehended by the writer, who, on p. 172, remarks, with reference to the Aryan invasion, that "the new settler adopted the general law of exogamy, as it was universally practised by the vanquished tribes". But, curiously enough, he adds to this quite permissible assumption the opinion that such a development was due to the desire of the invader "to flatter the taste of the non-Aryans, and to prove his social purity". A much more obvious reason for the fusion of two systems can be readily imagined.

Mr. Karandikar's exposition of his subject when describing the precise significance of *gotra* and *pravara* and the limits set to marriage with agnates and cognates is of very great

interest, and may be warmly recommended to all students of this important social phenomenon. Many additional restrictions and complications have been introduced since Vedic times. A parallel might here have been drawn between exogamy and endogamy, the latter having progressed from less to greater complexity on very similar lines. It is clear that in modern life the Hindu is less fettered by restrictions on the groups within which he may not marry than those now limiting the social area inside of which he must find a bride.

Mr. Karandikar is not quite so happy in his short attempt (chapter viii) to describe and criticize the various theories of the origin of exogamy put forward by well-known scholars. Herbert Spencer, Westermarck, McLennan, and Lord Avebury are very summarily disposed of in a few lines; and the writer comes to the not very helpful conclusion that Brahman exogamy was derived from the non-Aryan races. This does not greatly advance the search for the origin of exogamous restrictions. Students of Darwin's *Origin of Species* have been struck by the parallel between the conditions therein described of a fertile union and the world-wide prevalence of some form of exogamy and endogamy. Natural instincts give rise to, and help to preserve, social institutions. Herein lies much scope for speculation; but Mr. Karandikar cannot be blamed for failing to solve a problem that has so far defeated all the experts. Two small points of criticism must bring this necessarily brief notice to an end. Mr. Karandikar commits himself to the assertion that the term Hindu popularly connotes a homogeneous race. The term Hindu does not connote a race at all, either homogeneous or otherwise. On p. 288 he suggests that the progressive intensification of exogamous restrictions is a reason for the Indo-Aryans not being able "to hold their own against foreign invaders". This facile deduction from an ordered sequence leaves us wholly unconvinced of its probability.

R. E. E.

THE MYSORE TRIBES AND CASTES. Vol. II. By the late H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., and RAO BAHADUR L. K. ANANTHA KRISHNA IYER, B.A. Published under the auspices of the Mysore University. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. vii + 559. Mysore, 1928.

Nearly thirty years have elapsed since the late Sir Herbert Risley launched his scheme for the Ethnographic Survey of the major provinces and states of India at the conclusion of the census of 1901. The scheme has produced most valuable results, and we now have this first volume (vol. i has not yet appeared in print) of the Mysore records to compare with similar work in other parts of India. The late superintendent of the Mysore survey, who unfortunately has not lived to see the publication of his work in final form, followed the precedent of Bombay in issuing provisional monographs for criticism and correction. These now appear in their revised form. So far as can be judged from the present volume, the work has been carefully and skilfully done; and Mr. Nanjundayya's records will be welcomed by students of Indian ethnography.

The volume commences with the washerman caste known as *agasa* or *asaga*, and ends, after some 560 pages, containing numerous illustrations, with the wandering Budbudkis. Nearly half the volume is devoted to Brahmans. The rest deals with fourteen castes, of which the most important are the Are, Banjāra, Banajiga, Besta, Bili-Magga, and Billava. Unfortunately, for some reason unexplained, the compiler of the volume has failed to adopt the practice usually followed in such works, of giving alphabetically, in addition to the tribe and caste names which introduce each article, the various synonyms by which each tribe or caste is known and the names of caste divisions. In the absence of such entries, a student searching for the Lamāni or the Madiwal would be unlikely to refer to Banjāra or Agasa, under which headings they are to be found. If possible, this omission should be remedied in future volumes. One of the most interesting articles deals with the martial tribe well known in Mysore,

Madras, Bombay, and Hyderabad as Bedar or Berad. The writer identifies Bedars with the Rāmoshis of the Deccan and the Boyis of Telingāna. So far as the Bombay Presidency is concerned, the evidence available certainly seems to lend strong support to the theory that Rāmoshis are merely Bedars who have pushed northwards and adopted the Marāthi language.[1] Both profess to be descended from Valmiki, styling themselves Valmikas, and in addition have in common the names of Naikmakkalu, Naikwadi, and Talwar. They are said by Wilkes to be identical with Boyis. The writer has adopted this view without giving the grounds on which the statement is based.

Of special significance are the exogamous divisions of these Mysore Bedars; as is the case with Bestas, Bili-Maggas, and Billavas, the divisions are totemistic. On p. 204 we find some forty of such divisions as, for example, the sun, moon, buffalo, dog, jasmine, gold, the oleander, and horse gram. In some cases details which would be welcome are lacking; but the lists are sufficient to afford an interesting basis of comparison with tribes of similar status in other parts of India.

It is suggested that the article on Kanarese Banajigas would more suitably be embodied in the description of the Lingāyat community, which we shall await with interest, as they hold a very special position in Mysore.

The pages of this volume contain many misprints which should have been avoided, as, for instance, *prāsād* for *prasād*, *Pandannus* and *Pendanus* for the well-known *Pandanus odoratissimus* (screw pine), Russel for Russell, and many different spellings of *vakkalu* (*Kan.* cultivator). The picture of the beautiful Gersoppa Falls does not add anything to the subject matter of the volume. But we may congratulate the joint authors very heartily on the addition of a most valuable work to the fine series of ethnographical records that are now available for the Indian student.

R. E. E.

[1] *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, vol. i, p. 78.

FOUR MONTHS CAMPING IN THE HIMALAYAS. By DR. W. G. N. VAN DER SLEEN. Translated by M. W. HOPER. 10 × 7, pp. xiii + 213. London: Philip Allan & Co, 1929. 21*s*. net.

If recent literature on the Himalayas has fostered the idea that these mountains are the monopoly of the big expedition, here is a book to dispel the illusion.

Dr. Van der Sleen with his wife and their assistant, Mr. T. Traanberg, spent a most delightful time exploring the Sutlej valley, and no one with a taste for travel of this kind can read this description of their wanderings without longing to go and do likewise.

This was no mere pleasure trip, the author being specially interested in the geology of the region. But nothing escaped his observant eye. He has as much to tell of the birds, beasts, and flowers of the district as of the native villages passed on his way. His camera has caught excellent glimpses of the human life in these remote valleys of the Sutlej and its tributaries. We see the inhabitants at their religious festivals, the temples reared to their gods with their quaint carving, reminiscent at least in one place of Saracen art. It shows us the funeral rites of a Maharani and here and there, though less often than one could wish, it gives us a hint of the amazing beauty of the landscape.

The book, with its happy blending of instructive and entertaining matter, is well worth reading, the author having an eye for the humour of a situation. It is beautifully got up, too, and the type is excellent. The author intends publishing at a future date the scientific results of his trip. These will, no doubt, throw a good deal of light on some of the more obscure problems of a region as yet but partially explored.

C. MABEL RICKMERS.

THE STRUCTURE OF ASIA. Edited by J. W. GREGORY, LL.D., D.Sc., F.R.S. 7½ × 5, pp. xi + 227, with 8 illustrations, 18 folding maps, and 18 diagrams in the text. London: Methuen & Co, 1929.

Briefly the object of these collected papers read at the meeting of the British Association in Glasgow in 1928 is to examine in the light of the researches of the last thirty years the conclusions of Professor Eduard Suess, of Vienna, on the structure of Asia, as set forth in the third volume of his great work, *The Face of the Earth*, published in 1901. This book was a landmark in the geological history of Asia, and so fundamental are the problems discussed in it that later workers in the same field cannot ignore it.

In the present volume to which Professor Gregory contributes the Introduction, the *European Altaids* are dealt with by Professor Franz Ed. Suess, a son of the great geologist, who here modifies some of his father's views. The third chapter contains contributions by Dr. H. de Böckh, Dr. Lees and Mr. Richardson of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, on the "Stratigraphy and Tectonics of the Iranian Ranges". Professor Mushketov, of Leningrad, contributes a paper on the "Tectonic Features of the East Ferghani-Alai Range". Dr. W. D. West, of the Geological Survey of India, writes on recent work of the Survey. George B. Barbour, Professor of Geology at Yenching University, Peking, and Lecturer at Columbia University, N.Y., writes on the "Structural Evolution of Eastern Asia". "The Orogenic Evolution in the Gobi Region of Central Asia" is treated by Professor C. B. Berkey, of Columbia University, N.Y., while Professor H. A. Brouwer, of Delft University, writes of "Horizontal Movements in the East Indian Islands".

In "La Tectonique de l'Asie" Professor E. Argand has developed views on the geological structure of Asia fundamentally opposed to those of Eduard Suess. In his Introduction Professor Gregory deals with these differences. On the whole, he regards the conclusions of Suess published thirty

years ago as fundamentally correct, but rejects his interpretation of the eastern border.

These highly technical papers are of great importance to all concerned with the geological problems of Asia, views and counter-views of the most modern writers on the subject being given in great detail, while the structural features of the continent are amply illustrated by tables, maps, and drawings.

C. MABEL RICKMERS.

CHINESE ART. By WILLIAM COHN. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 91 + 90 pl. London: The Studio, Ltd., 1930. 10*s*. 6*d*.

During recent years many fresh finds have opened out new vistas to students of Chinese art and archæology, and therefore an up-to-date survey of our criteria is specially welcome. Unfortunately, most of the lately excavated relics of early Chinese civilization have reached us without information concerning the circumstances of discovery. The chaotic state of China has encouraged indiscriminate digging in many regions. There is nothing new, of course, in this rifling of tombs. Often in the past there have been periods of turmoil when the normal restraints of law and order have ceased to function. But probably never before has the search for buried treasure been so widespread. Owing to the various calamities which have overtaken the country during the last hundred years, many collections have been dispersed and scattered abroad. This process of impoverishment has been hastened by increasing demands from foreign museums and private collectors. The demands are becoming more and more insistent, and soaring prices naturally stimulate further supply. Native archæologists, such as Jung Kêng and Ma Hêng, appreciate the need for systematic excavation, and there can be little doubt that, so soon as peace is established, the Chinese themselves will control the discovery of buried antiquities and develop schools of scientific research. We may hope for the day when national museums in China will lead the way in the world study of her great civilization.

Meanwhile, a book such as this performs the useful service of taking a general view of our scanty knowledge and especially of pointing out the numerous gaps which require to be filled. The vast number of objects which were gathered together for the exhibition, arranged last year in Berlin by the Gesellschaft für Ostasiatische Kunst, gave Dr. Cohn an opportunity of estimating the situation. He was one of the chief organizers of this very successful enterprise, and most of his illustrations are derived from the objects displayed. While the scope of this work is that of a general survey, one wishes that sometimes he had been more specific in his allusions.

On many points he is, perhaps purposely, provocative. Though his denial of the genuineness of alleged ancient paintings is a useful corrective to the common habit of optimistic attribution, he is probably too sweeping in his statements. Certain collectors in Japan, for instance, will not agree with his conclusions. It is hard to reconcile with fact his assertion that "monumental sculpture is absolutely unknown". The oldest authenticated piece of sculpture, the horse on the tomb of Ho Ch'ü-ping, which may be dated about 117 B.C., is surely monumental, and there are others belonging to this category.

Exception must also be taken to Dr. Cohn's statement that "the Hall of the Annual Prayers (The Temple of Heaven) was built in the eighteenth year of the period Yung-lo, i.e. 1420". In the first place, this translation of the name Ch'i nien tien is not entirely happy. Bushell (*Chinese Art*, i, 44) more correctly renders it, "temple of prayer for the year." It was here in the first month that the emperor prayed for a continuance of the celestial mandate, conferring on him sovereign power, and for abundant harvests during the ensuing year. Bushell is right, too, in his statement that the building was founded as late as the *ch'ien lung* period, and that the present structure was rebuilt recently after its destruction by fire. The actual date of the first Ch'i nien tien was 1755; it was struck by lightning and burnt down in

1889; and it was rebuilt shortly afterwards. According to tradition, the three roofs of the original structure were covered respectively with blue, yellow, and green tiles. The present impressive triple roof of blue-glazed tiles is a modern conception. The date which Dr. Cohn mentions, 1420, is that of the foundation on this site at the time when the city was rebuilt as the capital of the Ming dynasty. Probably no part of the Ming work survives in an unaltered state. During 1912 I spent much time in the Temple of Heaven and explored all the buildings. I came to the conclusion that the only relic of the Ming is the Shên lo shu, which stands in the south part of the outer enclosure and due west of the Hall of Abstinence. The earliest date which I could find there is that of 1500, inscribed on a stone stele; but that may be older than the actual building.

Dr. Cohn suffers from inadequate translation—at least, that is my surmise. The multitude of strange expressions and ambiguous (and even ungrammatical) sentences leads to the belief that someone has not dealt faithfully with the original German. Here is evidence of the truth that specialized writings can be translated successfully only by those who are themselves familiar with the subjects treated. A "select bibliography" adds much to the value of the book; but many will wish that an index had also been included. One of the plates (No. 33) is, by the way, printed sideways.

W. PERCEVAL YETTS.

THE GEORGE EUMORFOPOULOS COLLECTION CATALOGUE OF THE CHINESE AND COREAN BRONZES, SCULPTURE, JADES, JEWELLERY, AND MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS. By W. PERCEVAL YETTS. Vol. II: Bronzes: Bells, Drums, Mirrors, etc. 18 × 12½, pp. viii + 99, 44 figs. + 75 pls. (25 in colour). London: Ernest Benn, 1930. £12 12s.

With Vol. II of the Catalogue of this division of the matchless collection of Mr. Eumorfopoulos, and following the same author as guide, philosopher, and friend who piloted us through

the initial volume, we approach three new groups of objects, Bells, Drums, and Mirrors, and some miscellaneous articles.

Each of these groups is introduced to the reader in a special essay by the author, who describes its general character, the nature of its make and shape, the peculiarities of its decoration, the quality of its functions, and, where these are present, the object and meaning of the inscribed legends. These descriptions and explanations occupy forty-two of the large pages of the volume, and are elucidated by numerous illustrations. They are followed by forty pages of the actual Catalogue. This is by no means restricted to a numbered list of specimens with particulars of dimensions, details of decoration and design, and period of manufacture (on this last point the author is very cautious: "perhaps Han" and "Date doubtful" are very frequent entries). Far from that. This part of the work abounds in the results of Mr. Yetts' specialized research, as it serves to illustrate and explain the objects under review. Thus, for instance, on p. 64, he devotes thirty-five lines to "a short general note . . . concerning examples of" belt-hooks, illustrations of which occupy ten plates, and cites passages *ad rem* from Chinese and other literature. Many of these notes are very interesting, and many instructive. And here I may mention to what especially this is due. In the first place, the designs appearing on the mirrors in particular have frequently reference to the "Otherworld" of Taoist lore and legends. This is a field wherein the author and Dr. Lionel Giles have delved long and deeply, and the fruits of their tillage now enure to the benefit of the readers of the Catalogue. And in the second place, Mr. Yetts, in carrying out his task, has familiarized himself, as the very valuable Bibliography (pp. 85 to 92) shows, not only with the Chinese and Western literature on the subject, but with the recent work of modern Japanese scholars (some sixteen are specified) in the same line of research. That is a present-day desideratum in all Oriental inquiry, but one much easier for Occidental scholars to acknowledge than to achieve, and, let me add,

both expensive to the purse and exacting to the brain of such earnest seekers after knowledge.

The seventy-five plates that make up the rest of the volume will excite general admiration. Twenty-five are colour plates, and things of beauty they truly are. Each spectator will choose his or her own fancy among them, but B 55 on Pl. xxvii, a plain bronze mirror with engraved mother-of-pearl inlay, and B 49 on Pl. xxvi, a mirror with a thin openwork plaque in gold, delight me most of all.

Under the Introductory Essay on Drums Mr. Yetts discusses (pp. 23–6) the association of bird decoration with Chinese Bronze Drums, and in the course of a rather elaborate argument is inclined to regard the uppermost part of certain ancient forms of the character *chia*, "excellent" (Giles, first edition, No. 1158), as figures of birds with outstretched wings. I much doubt if this is so, and believe that here, as elsewhere, these forms represent *huo*, "grain," or *shu*, "millet." On the other hand, however, I should like to call Mr. Yetts' attention to another character where the *tou* element in the character *ku*, drum, also occurs. This is *ch'i*, "how," and in a special sense, read *k'ai*, "joyous," particularly applied to "triumphal music" (as Karlgren has well observed, *Analytic Dict. of Chinese*, p. 121), and reminding us of "See the conquering hero comes, Sound the trumpets, beat the drums". It differs only from *chou* or *chu* in its slightly varied "adjunct" above.

On p. 50, Fig. 18, the identity of the old character read *ch'ien*, thousand, by Mr. Yetts, seems very insecure in that disguise. On p. 56 the third character in the third column of Fig. 28 is misprinted, and should be *hsiung*, evil (Giles, No. 4689).

P. 59 and Pl. xxiv. Though called "a pair of phœnixes" these birds seem to resemble peacocks with tails displayed.

P. 61 and Pl. xxx, B 60 and 61. Professor Pelliot's idea certainly seems the only possible one, that the names of the two persons in the label, responding to the position of the two figures in the mirror, and mutually balanced to the eye in

the label, have perforce violated the syntactical order of the inscription.

Among the Miscellaneous Objects shown in this volume Pl. lxii figures, and Mr. Yetts on p. 75 describes, certain "knife-money" current in early times. These "coins", so to call them, are obviously tokens of tools and implements once used for barter, and as such had their value. But when the edges were thickened and blunted, and they were no longer "serviceable", what value, as currency, could they have retained ? Did the State that issued them accept them again in payment of taxes ? Incidentally, Mr. Yetts does not mention what, I presume, is the explanation of the ring at the end of the handle, that it served to suspend the prototypal knife from the owner's girdle.

In Fig. 40 on p. 80, the character romanized as *Hung* should, I think, be read *Yu*, and regarded as consisting of *mien*, "cover," and *yu*, "right, dexter" (Giles, No. 13,436), according to Takata, a former variant of its homophone *yu*, "to pardon." And in Fig. 41 and B. 289, *T'u* should probably be read Ch'êng, a character formed by *water* by the side of *ch'ih*, "red."

The above are the occasional and unimportant cavillings I have been prompted to make on the author's admirable and judicious commentary to the splendid Catalogue now in course of publication by Messrs. Ernest Benn.

The only misprint I have noticed in the text is at the end of line 3 of p. 35, where the *h* has been dropped from "eighth".

L. C. Hopkins.

John of Montecorvino, First Archbishop of Peking. By the Very Rev. G. B. O'Toole. (Reprint from Bulletin No. 6 of the Catholic University of Peking, China.) 9 × 6, pp. 48. No date (? 1929).

The celebration of the sixth centenary of the death of John of Montecorvino has given an impetus to the study

of his life, and this must be at least the fifth little pamphlet or article on the subject that has appeared in the last few years. It is a well written if rather discursive lecture, and presents what is known of the great Archbishop in an attractive and sufficiently complete and accurate form. If one must find some fault it will be that the author is not always careful to give credit in the right quarter. Thus he says (p. 34) "Van den Wyngaert is right, therefore, in identifying Cothay with the Kipchak Khan of that time, namely, Toktu Khan. There is, indeed, no resemblance between these names". Van den Wyngaert writes, in fact, of "Cothay capitale du Kiptschak". But ten years earlier this *Journal* has printed the following note (1914, p. 550): Cothay "probably stands (as M. Pelliot suggests) for Marco Polo's Toctai, the Chinese T'o-t'o, descended from Chingis' eldest son Chu-ch'ih, Khan of Kipchak". As C and T are often confused, the likeness of Cothay and Toctai is great. In 1914, too, Professor Pelliot himself published in the *T'oung-pao* (p. 635) his discovery of the funerary inscription of "King George" by Yen Fu, which we are here (p. 30) told was "discovered" by Professor Chang Hsing-lang. Unless Professor Chang published his discovery before 1914, credit for this important find should have been given to Professor Pelliot, whose extraordinarily brilliant article, "Chrétiens d'Asie centrale et d'Extrême-Orient," Dr. O'Toole appears to have seen. On p. 41 we read "1326, which was also, as we shall see, the year in which Andrew of Perugia died", and on p. 45 "Andrew . . . died, as we have seen, in the same year that his letter was written (A.D. 1326)". There is nothing about the date of Andrew's death between these two sentences; nor is there any ancient evidence that I know of to show that Andrew ever died at all. On p. 39 we read of "Tup Timur". There is a learned article in the current number of the *T'oung-pao* to show that this form of the name is wrong. This Dr. O'Toole could not, of course, have seen; but it must be sixteen or seventeen years since

the *Journal* of the China Branch of the Asiatic Society published a table of the Mongol Emperors in which (with Pelliot's help) this name appears more correctly as Togh temur. The author spends a good deal of space in scolding Palladius for having said that " King George " married two princesses at the same time. The fact is that in the many cases when a prince married a second princess after (繼 *chi*) the first the documents sometimes (e.g. in the case of George's brother Shu-hu-nan) specify that the first was dead; sometimes (e.g. *Yüan wên lei*, c. 25, fol. 7 ro) specify that the second was given as a reward for prowess in battle; and sometimes (as in the case of George) give no indication of the reason or circumstances of the second marriage. The *Yüan wên lei* states that both princesses were dead in 1305, the *Yüan shih* implies that the second was still alive. As Dr. O'Toole calls George's son John " Ch'u-an ", it may be worth while to state the various forms of this name and of that of his uncle John, as follows: *Yüan wên lei* 主 安 Chu-an, 朮 忽 難 Shu-hu-nan; *Yüan shih* (Southern edition) 朮 安 Shu-an, 朮 忽 難 Shu-hu-nan; *Yüan shih* (1908) 朮 安 Shu-an, 木 忽 難 Mu-hu-nan; *Yüan shih* (1739, with reformed transcription) 專 Chuan, 摩 和 納 Mo-ho-na. It may be that 朮 *shu* should here be read *chu*.

The article is illustrated with an interesting plan of " Khanbalyk ", the now familiar portraits of Kubilai and Temur, and imaginary views of Montecorvino blessing the great Khan and of Odoric preaching.

A. C. M.

Les Descriptions de le Chine par les Français (1650–1750). By Ting Tchao-ts'ing. 10 × 6½, pp. 111. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1928. Fr. 30.

Both the subject of this book and the author's treatment of it are full of interest. But the treatment hardly fulfils the high hopes which are raised by Professor H. Maspero's preface,

for the author seems to be more concerned with the motives which he supposes to have inspired the writers—and especially the missionary writers—of the books on China, with which France was flooded in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, than with the sources and the circumstances of the composition of the books. While it is true that an educated Chinese must understand China better than a European can hope to do, and may occasionally understand even Europe more truly than the Europeans do, little allowance seems to be made by Mr. Ting for the possibility that Europeans may understand Europeans and occasionally even Chinese more truly than he does. And the reversals of common judgements which are found here, based as they sometimes are on what seems to be religious or anti-religious prejudice, will not always be readily accepted. It is not easy to believe, on the mere evidence of a few bad mistranslations, that the great missionary scholars had, with few exceptions, no knowledge of the language of Chinese books. It is simply incredible that Prémare did not know the ordinary use of *san tai* for the "three dynasties", Hsia, Shang, and Chou, though he chose to translate it "trois races" (p. 66). We fear it is less easy to discredit the author when he writes on p. 36 : Ces descriptions des Chinois peu favorablement tracées par le Gentil ainsi que par les autres voyageurs, bien qu'elles aient étés corrigées par des écrivains scrupuleux, n'en causèrent par moins chez les lecteurs une prédisposition ; même jusqu'à présent, le peuple en a conservé encore l'habitude de ridiculiser les Chinois. It is unfortunately the same in England, even among the educated.

The book is not too carefully printed. On p. 98 the eighth line has dropped below the twelfth. The correction among the *Errata* of a similar confusion on p. 13 gives the desired sense, but does not seem to restore the original text.

A. C. M.

THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF MANCHURIA. A Digest and Analysis of Treaties, Agreements, and Negotiations concerning the Three Eastern Provinces of China. By C. WALTER YOUNG, Assistant Professor of Political Science, George Washington University, Washington, D.C. 9½ × 6½, pp. xi + 307. Chicago, Illinois (U.S.A.): University of Chicago Press. 16*s*. net.

This volume, prepared in response to the request of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations for use for purposes of reference at the Conference of the Institute which took place in Kyoto last autumn, is, as the sub-title explains, a digest of the various treaties, agreements, and negotiations relating to Manchuria which have been concluded or have taken place between the Chinese Government in Peking or the Provincial Authorities in Manchuria on the one side and foreign Powers, mainly Japan and Russia, on the other between 1895 and 1929. The work is divided into four parts covering the four periods of time into which the modern international history of Manchuria naturally falls—1895 (Treaty of Shimonoseki) to 1905; 1905 (Treaty of Portsmouth) to 1915; 1915 (Sino-Japanese Treaty regarding Manchuria) to 1921, and 1921 (Washington Conference) to 1929. Each part is prefaced by a brief summary of events during the period under review, and the various treaties and agreements of that period are then dealt with in detail under four headings: (*a*) Japan, (*b*) Russia, (*c*) other Powers, and (*d*) Treaties and Agreements of alliance, co-operation, and guarantee. This arrangement necessitates a considerable amount of repetition, which is at times a little irritating; but the author explains that the book is meant "purely for reference purposes" and that this repetition is due to his desire to facilitate a quick grasp of isolated subjects. From the point of view of completeness it seems rather a pity that the first period was not thrown farther back to include the earlier relations of Russia and China in Manchuria. There is an interesting introductory chapter describing the Russo-

Chinese crisis in 1929 over the Chinese Eastern Railway, and at the end of the volume is a series of seven appendices dealing in some detail with a number of secret treaties and arrangements between Russia and China, China and Japan, and Russia and Japan, with the Ishii-Lansing Agreement, the Russo-Chinese Agreements of 1924, and independent Chinese Railway Construction in Manchuria since 1925. Professor Young's authorities include such works as Rockhill's *Treaties, Conventions, and Agreements relating to China*, the official édition of the *Treaties and Conventions between Japan and China*, British and United States' official publications, Professor Willoughby's *Foreign Rights and Interests in China*, etc., but it is from MacMurray's monumental *Treaties and Agreements with and concerning China* that he has drawn most substantially. The last named work is the most authoritative and accurate of its kind, and this in itself is more than sufficient guarantee for the fullness and the reliability of the information the author puts before his readers. In the treatment of his subject, Professor Young is almost completely objective, rarely offering an opinion, save perhaps in the Appendices, but contenting himself with simply marshalling the facts and leaving the reader to form his own conclusions. For this reason the book may not perhaps appeal greatly to the ordinary public; but to the student of Manchurian problems who has not access to MacMurray and the other authorities Professor Young quotes it should prove invaluable.

HAROLD PARLETT.

OBITUARY NOTICES

Albert von Le Coq

1860–1930

It was a melancholy coincidence which registered almost simultaneously the deaths of two of our most eminent honorary members, Albert von le Coq and F. W. K. Müller, the latter dying on 18th April, and the former on 21st April of this year. The labours of these two men had been in the same field of research during a period of thirty years, and it was nothing less than a blessed dispensation of Providence which brought them together for so long under the roof of the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin.

With the death of A. von Le Coq has died out the last branch of an old Berlin-Huguenot family. He received his early education at the *Französisches Gymnasium*. His father had been one of the first German merchants in China (Canton), and his son's youthful mind was always filled with dreams of the China he longed to see; and it was no doubt in the hope that he would be sent there that he willingly obeyed his father's wishes, and entered the firm. And thus he lost 21 years of his life in a profession which in no way responded to his personal inclinations. For one year in London and six years in the United States he represented his father's firm, occupying, however, his leisure hours with the study of medicine. This he did because the father of his future wife had said he would never give his daughter to an unlearned man; and it was to their utmost astonishment that his parents and his fiancée suddenly received a cablegram from New York announcing that he had taken his Doctorate in Medicine. He then came back to Germany and married. Twelve years passed ere his wife succeeded in persuading him —in his fortieth year—to become a "student", and he never repented having taken that resolution.

He did not wish to make money, being happy in his small circumstances: nor did he wish to be in any position where he could not be wholly his own master. This was not to

be realized. Grünwedel and F. W. K. Müller soon discovered that there was something quite unusual in this man, who worked silently as a volunteer in the Museum, and as a student in the Oriental Seminar. Nobody knew anything about him, not even that he had been a merchant and that he was married.

Grünwedel one day introduced this little elderly student to the Director of the Royal Armoury, saying: " I present to you the only man in Berlin who can arrange for you the beautiful collection of Oriental costumes made by the Prince Friedrich Carl of Prussia." Von Le Coq gasped in astonishment: but took on the task, working only by night, and the labels in the Royal Armoury in his beautiful handwriting can still be seen to-day.

In 1901 he took part, as a volunteer, in the expedition to Zenjirli, as a result of which he wrote two volumes of " Kurdische Texte ", which were printed (at his own expense) in the State Press on hand-made paper. It was this work which afterwards brought him the title of Dr.Phil. from the University of Kiel, to his greatest astonishment, and made the way free for him to " any appointment in the Prussian State ". In March, 1914, when he returned for the last time from Turkestan, he became Director of the Asiatic Department. Without passing any examination, without even matriculating, without going to the University—though he had been for a short time in the Oriental Seminar—he reached the highest post possible for him in Prussia.

He hated being a bread winner, and resented the loss of time over routine and red tape which his position in the Museum imposed on him. But here, in the Museum, that strange community of work gradually developed which led to such amazingly fruitful results; and here the plans were laid for the four Prussian Turfan expeditions—inspired by the wonderful finds made in the deserts of Turkestan by Sven Hedin and Sir Aurel Stein. Von Le Coq took part in the last three of these expeditions, and was himself the leader of the second and fourth. He was really the life and soul of all four. He seemed to come unscathed out of the third expedi-

tion, in spite of the most strenuous journeys and the terrible conditions under which the excavations were carried out. He set out on the fourth expedition at the age of fifty-three, a hale and healthy man—and returned from it bent and aged in body but unbroken in spirit. Then came the war, and in 1917 his only child was killed on French soil. In spite of impaired health, the privations caused by the war, and this culminating blow from Fate, he pursued unceasingly and undeterred the goal he had set before him of arranging his wonderful finds in a setting worthy of their historical importance and their artistic value, with what fine results all the world may now see. Nor was this labour of love confined to the piecing together of the frescoes, sorting and arranging in historical order the specimens of plastic art: for he had a long uphill struggle to wage with the authorities, who were slow to give him the financial support necessary for the achievement of his ideal scheme. Such was his enthusiasm for the great new field of research which had been opened out by his discoveries, that he found time also to make himself an authority on the old Turkish languages, and contributed much to the elucidation of the Uighur texts which he had brought to Berlin, apart from the many handsome volumes he published with reproductions of the frescoes and statues. His main thesis was always the Hellenistic influence apparent in the arts of Middle and Eastern Asia. Fortunate were all of us who had the privilege of being taken over the ground floor of the Museum für Völkerkunde by von Le Coq himself. With that ever merry twinkle in his eye he would explain with a hundred passing quips the wonders of this newly unburied civilization. Truly in this Museum Albert von Le Coq has his worthy monument by which his name will always be held in memory. As a friend von Le Coq was without rival; even in the last year before his death he was always ready to come and crack a joke over a glass of beer, and no better company could be desired than his. As a correspondent he was of an age that is almost past, and he always delighted in telling his friends of the latest theories that had been propounded in the Museum. I remember on one

occasion receiving in Calcutta a post-card from him bearing only the words "Wir haben die Indo-Scythen!" What lay behind those words all the learned world knows to-day. With Albert von Le Coq such a light was extinguished as is rarely lit in the world.

E. DENISON ROSS.

F. W. K. Müller

1863–1930

Few readers of *The Times* or even of the German newspapers will have guessed what the death of F. W. K. Müller will mean to Science. Müller's greatness was only equalled by his modesty. He did not belong to those Orientalists whose name is world-wide. He seldom made a public appearance, either in lectures or in writing. In books of reference we shall find only that he was Director of the Berlin Museum for Ethnology, and a member of the Prussian Academy of Sciences; and yet, in historical researches connected with the Far East and Central Asia, he had no rival.

Like von Le Coq, he was a pupil of the *Französisches Gymnasium*. In 1883 he entered the University of Berlin and studied Theology and Orientalia. His Doctorate thesis dealt with the Chronology of the Syrian Simeon Sanqlawaya. On his appointment to the newly-founded Museum für Völkerkunde (1887), he at once turned to good account his combined knowledge of Languages and Religions, and was able to put into practice his principle that linguistic knowledge should go hand in hand with cultural training (*keine Sprachkenntnis ohne Sachkenntnis, keine Sachkenntnis ohne Sprachkenntnis*). In 1901 he was sent by the Prussian Ministry of Culture on a mission to China, Japan, and Korea, in order to collect objects for this Museum. His linguistic equipment covered an astonishingly wide range—Semitic, Indo-Germanian, Chinese, Japanese, Turkish, and Malay—but it was Chinese and Japanese which in later times engrossed his main attention: and his profound knowledge of the Chinese

Mahāyāna Canon was invaluable for the identification of the Buddhist documents in half-a-dozen, till then unknown, languages which formed so important an element of the Turfan finds.

"F. W. K.," as he was always spoken of among his colleagues, was by nature a recluse, and access to his sanctum was by no means easily gained. But once received, the fortunate visitor encountered nothing but kindly attention, and however short the interview, would come away a wiser and certainly a more modest man.

"F. W. K." was the only man I have ever met whose knowledge was really encyclopædic. Nothing was more astonishing than the way in which he would consult his books of reference in no matter what language they were written, and find the authority he required with the same ease with which the average man consults a dictionary. I had on one occasion just come home from India and brought to him a Uighur Buddhist text on which I had been working. I had made a rough transcript in which many words were purely tentative. I shall never forget the way in which he dealt with these difficulties—not indeed solving them all, but showing in doubtful cases the various possibilities: but he was never satisfied till he had called in aid all his wisdom and his books.

Müller was an universalist, and one German paper has described him as a second Humboldt—a truly great man such as appears once in a century in the realm of research. His gifts were not those of a genius who arrives by inspiration at the solution of problems; but rather those of a clear spirit which embraced everything in its view and a portentous memory which enabled him to arrive at faultless conclusions whenever he was prepared to pronounce a judgment.

In short, he was a scholar of almost unique gifts. Fortunate were those who were brought in contact with him, for all that he said was inspiring. No problem was too trivial, and if any question one put to him was worthy of consideration, he would forthwith enter into the minutest details, and often one had to wait long for his reply, for he

was never satisfied until he had utilized all his resources in wisdom and books.

In 1905 he was made Member of the Prussian Academy of Sciences: and this was followed by the conferment of many distinctions on him by foreign societies.

The great opportunity of his life arrived when the manuscripts began to reach his Museum from the Turfan Expeditions. As Professor Paul Krüger of Vienna has happily said: "It was as if these important testimonies to a religious culture which had lain buried for more than a thousand years under the sands of Central Asian oases had been disturbed from their sleep at this juncture in order to be made to speak by F. W. K. M." For in this exceptional man all the equipment necessary for the decipherment of these documents seem to have been united: the knowledge of the Semitic, the Iranian, the Turkish, and the Indo-Chinese languages, theological training, more especially in the history of religions, philological grounding, historical criticism, perseverance, and unimpeachable scientific honesty.

In the tiny brochure entitled "Handschriftenreste in Estrangeloschrift aus Turfan" he discovered the key which unlocked the Manichaean literature in Soghdian and in Uighur; thereby rescuing a literature long regarded as for ever lost, and recovering an Iranian literary language of which no example had hitherto been found. It was he who proved from a single passage in a Uighur fragment that one of the languages which had been deciphered and read by Sieg and Siegling was Tokharian. The familiar yellow-covered Proceedings of the Berlin Academy containing the succinct results of his arduous labours form a priceless collection of secrets revealed to students of such various subjects as the Buddhism, Christianity, Manichacism, and the Cultural History of Central Asia. His intimate acquaintance with the Buddhist and Christian Scriptures enabled him to run to earth the original source of a scrap of text on a torn sheet, whether Chinese, Sanskrit, or Greek.

E. Denison Ross.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

GENERAL MEETING, *4th July*, 1930

Dr. Blagden, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society:—

Mr. Paramanda Acharya.
Mr. Seymour G. Vesey-Fitzgerald.
Mr. George C. O. Haas.
Mr. M. Mohammad Hamid.
Mr. Ernest Main.

M. Victor Goloubew gave a lecture on "The Archæological Work of the École Française d'Extrême Orient in Indo-China". Mr. Yetts and Dr. Rushton Parker spoke. Dr. Blagden then addressed the meeting, and a cordial vote of thanks was passed to the lecturer.

From *The Times*, Monday, 22nd September, 1930.

Father Boulos Sbath, an authority on Semitic writings, has found in Homs, Syria, a manuscript of great historical value. It is written on parchment in Syriac and is dated 958 after Alexander, equivalent to A.D. 647. Its author is Yuhanna, Bishop of Bosra, in the Hauran, where stood the hermitage of the monk Sergius Buhira, the teacher and inspirer of the Prophet Mohamed. The manuscript treats of the prophet and of the birth of Islam.

After having held office for sixteen years Mrs. Frazer resigned her appointment as Secretary to the Society in September.

The duties have been taken over by Colonel D. M. F. Hoysted, C.B.E., D.S.O.

The Council presented Mrs. Frazer with a Japanese lacquered "Ermeto" watch as a mark of their appreciation of her services.

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